

IN THESE TIMES

VOL. 9, NO. 32

AUG. 21-SEPT. 3, 1985

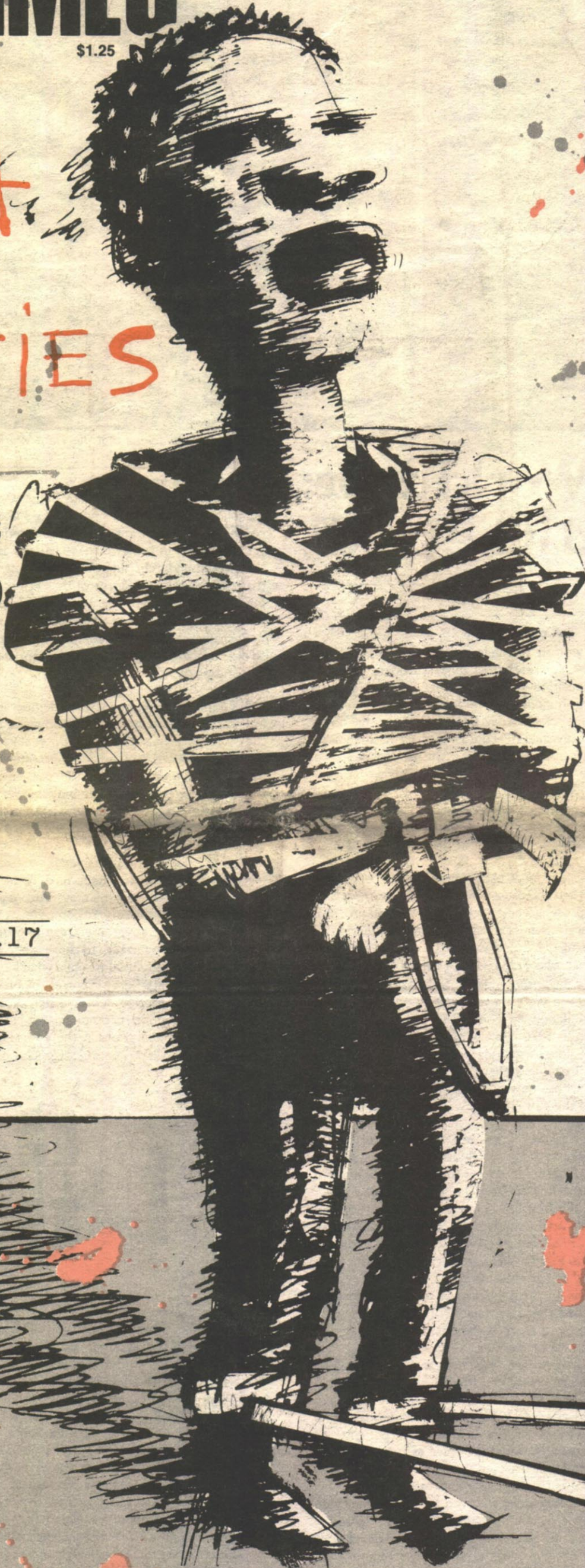
\$1.25

HARSH REALITIES

of the war against
APARTHEID

Complex divisions
frustrate solutions p.9

Failures of U.S. policy p.17



Third World debt crisis
Contra kidnapping
Nuclear waste repository
New directions for CED

p.2
p.3
p.5
p.6

Congress dumps on Superfund
Unraveling farm policy
Mexico's Octavio Paz
Feminism in advertising

p.7
p.12
p.18
p.20



Fidel Castro maintained that the Third World debt cannot and should not be paid.

Third World debt: Should it be paid?

By James North

HAVANA, CUBA

Every Bolivian man, woman and child owes world financial institutions nearly \$1,000. You reach this figure by dividing the South American country's population into its total debt. Some years ago, workers in the Bolivian tin industry—the heart of the nation's economy—were earning about \$1 a day. Even if that figure has now doubled, or even tripled, it would still take a miner with a family of five more than eight years to cover his share in the national debt—provided the family spent their income on nothing else.

It is exactly this sort of absurdity that prompted Fidel Castro to call a hemisphere-wide conference on the debt crisis here during the first week in August. In his opening remarks, he said he hoped for "the broadest, most pluralistic meeting" in the history of Latin America.

He may well have succeeded. A preponderance of the 1,200 delegates represented leftist and center-left movements across Latin America. Among those present were: Michael Manley, leader of the Jamaican opposition; Sergio Ramirez, representing the Nicaraguan government; Liber Seregni, the Uruguayan leftist who served 10 years as a political prisoner; the Nobel Prize-winning author Gabriel Garcia Marquez; and Hortensia Bussi, the widow of Chilean President Salvador Allende. But there were more than a few unusual visitors to Cuba. They included: Radomiro Tomic, the Christian Democrat who lost to Allende in the 1970 Chilean elections; Adolfo Perez Esquivel, the deeply religious Argentine human rights activist who holds the Nobel Peace Prize; and Miguel Angel Capriles, a colorful Venezuelan millionaire whose newspapers have long blasted Castro and Cuba but who told the gathering, "I would even go to hell, or heaven" to discuss the debt crisis.

The conference was very well organized. Speaker after speaker gave 12-minute presentations to a generally attentive audience in the new Convention Palace. Fidel Castro kept his promise to be present for every speech over the five days the gathering lasted.

Luis Ignacio da Silva, the Brazilian union leader who is popularly known as "Lula," summarized the sense of the convention: "Without being the least bit radical or adventurist, I would say to the *compañeros* here that the Third World War has already started. It is a silent war, but no less sinister. This war is crushing Brazil, Latin America and practically the entire Third World. Instead of soldiers, children die; instead of millions wounded, there are millions of unemployed; instead of the destruction of bridges, there is the destruction of factories, schools, hospitals and entire economies."

Lula's observations are supported by facts. By the end of this year, the World Bank estimates the Third World will owe a total of \$710 billion, up from \$135 billion in 1974. (Using other criteria, the Bank says the debt could be as large as \$970 billion.) Latin America's share in this staggering figure is more than one-half. By way of perspective, U.S. foreign aid, a sum many Americans regard as large, will total only about \$12 billion this year.

Fidel Castro's thesis was that the debt cannot and should not be paid. The first part of his argument received an important boost on the eve of the conference, when newly-inaugurated Peruvian President Alan Garcia announced that his country would devote only 10 percent of its export earnings over the next year to repaying its \$14 billion debt. To repay the \$3.7 billion it owes this year would have been impossible; Peru's total exports will bring in only \$3.1 billion.

The second part of Castro's argument, that repaying the debt would be unjust, also won varying degrees of approval from the other speakers. Bolivian Minister of Planning Fredy Justiniano said, to loud applause, "We will not continue paying if to do so we have to take bread from the mouths of those who did not contract the debt in the first place."

Much of the immense sum was lent to countries that were ruled by repressive dictatorships, like Brazil, Chile and Argentina, or by bumbling, corrupt governments, like Mexico. During the '70s, conservative Americans like Milton Friedman pointed to economic growth spurts in some of these nations as free-market "miracles" that would undercut support for the left in the Third World. Now that the apparent advances of that era have been obliterated like sandcastles after high tide, the Friedmanites are more judiciously keeping their thoughts to themselves.

Perhaps the only bright side to the debt crisis was that it helped to discredit some of the military dictatorships and helped lead to the restoration of political democracy in places like Argentina, Brazil and Uruguay.

But if the crisis continues, these democracies are threatened. The International Monetary Fund, denounced by nearly every speaker at the conference, nearly always imposes severe austerity measures on the debtor nations in return for approving further loans to them or guaranteeing their credit-worthiness. These measures include wage freezes, cuts in social spending and subsidies for basic necessities. The IMF, which is controlled by conservative bankers from the U.S. and Western Europe, also requires the Third World nations to reduce their tariffs, as a stimulus to "free-market" competition and efficiency. In fact, the flood of imports tends to destroy local industries and increase unemployment. Radomiro Tomic, the Chilean Christian Democrat, likened the IMF's exhortations to economic competition to "the lion asking the lamb to compete, or the shark asking the seal."

No democratic government can impose such harsh measures for long without having to turn to repression. Speakers from nations like the Dominican Republic described what have come to be called "IMF riots" in the streets. Perez Esquivel, the Nobel Peace laureate, warned, "Human rights, foreign debt and democracy are profoundly interrelated." He went on to recommend that Latin America go before the World Court and argue that the efforts to collect the debt are a

THE STORY INSIDE

violation of human rights.

The very fact that the debt crisis is so serious, and afflicts so many nations, is paradoxically a source of potential strength. If one country defaults, or declares a moratorium on repayment, the international financial community could orchestrate an economic blockade. But if several nations act together, particularly if they include the larger debtors, then it is the banks that have the problem.

Fidel Castro will not be able to lead a revolt of the debtors. At the very least, though, Cuba has furnished the more moderate governments with a bargaining ploy as they confront the IMF and the banks. They can use Castro's position of total intransigence, as well as the internal pressure from their own people, as they argue for greatly relaxed terms of repayment.

The legacy of the Havana conference will be an increased sense of hemispheric unity rather than any concrete action. As the Venezuelan press lord Miguel Angel Capriles explained (he told the delighted audience he was speaking as "an entrepreneur and a bourgeois capitalist"), Cuba had at least acted. "When the history of this period is written," Capriles said in his rapid-fire Venezuelan accent, "it will come to be recognized that, while other countries wasted time, Fidel Castro brought 1,200 of us here to confront what may well be the greatest problem of this century." ■

James North is the author of the recently published book *Freedom Rising* and is currently researching a book on the Third World debt crisis.

AL
=GOLP

IN THESE TIMES

The Independent
Socialist Newspaper

Published 41 times a year: weekly except the first week of January, first week of March, last week of November, last week of December; bi-weekly in June through the first week in September by Institute for Public Affairs, 1300 W. Belmont, Chicago, IL 60657, (312) 472-5700

Member: Alternative Press Syndicate

Editor

JAMES WEINSTEIN

Senior Editors

JOHN B. JUDIS

(on leave)

Managing Editor

SHERYL LARSON

DAVID MOBERG

Features Editor/Staff Writer

SALIM MUWAKKIL

Culture Editor (on leave)

PATRICIA AUFDERHEIDE

European Editor

DIANA JOHNSTONE

California Bureau

(415) 531-7182

JOAN WALSH

Assistant Managing Editor/Books Editor

EMILY YOUNG

In Short Editor

BETH MASCHINOT

Editorial Assistant

SHERYL OLSEN

Editorial Interns

DAVID FUTRELL BILL HALL

Correspondents

TIMOTHY LANGE, Denver

DAVID CORN, New York

Art Director

MILES DE COSTER

Associate Art Director

NICOLE FERENTZ

Assistant Art Director

PETER J. HANNAN

Camera Operator

PAUL D. COMSTOCK

Typesetter

JIM RINNERT

Publisher

JAMES WEINSTEIN

Assistant Publisher

FELICITY BENSCH

Acting Business Manager

GRACE FAUSTINO

Circulation Director Advertising Director

LEENIE FOLSOM CYNTHIA DIAZ

Office Manager

KATHLEEN GALLAGHER

Business/Development Assistant

LOUIS HIRSCH

Circulation Assistants

ADELIA PRICE GEORGE GORHAM

DONNA JOHNSON

Advertising Assistant

BRUCE EMBREY

Fulfillment Assistant

PAUL BATISTAS

Receptionist

HANIA RICHMOND

Sponsors

Robert Allen, Julian Bond, Noam Chomsky, Barry Commoner, Al Curtis, Hugh DeLacy, G. Douglas Dowd, David DuBois, Barbara Ehrenreich, Daniel Ellsberg, Barbara Garson, Emily Gibson, Michael Harrington, Dorothy Healey, David Horowitz, Paul Jacobs (1918-1978), Ann J. Lane, Elinor Langer, Jesse Lemisch, Salvador Luria, Staughton Lynd, Carey McWilliams (1905-1980), Jacques Marchand, Herbert Marcuse (1899-1979), David Montgomery, Carlos Munoz, Har O'Connor, Earl Ofari, Seymour Posner, Ronald Radosh, Jeremy Rifkin, Paul Schrade, William Sennett, Derek Shearer, Stan Steiner, Warren Susman (1927-1985), E.P. Thompson, Naomi Weisstein, William A. Williams, John Womack, Jr.

(ISSN 0160-5992)

The entire contents of *In These Times* are copyright ©1985 by Institute for Public Affairs, and may not be reproduced in any manner, either whole or in part, without permission of the publisher. Complete issues of *In These Times* are available from University Microfilms International, Ann Arbor, MI. Select articles are available on 4-track cassette from Freedom Library International, 640 Bayside, Detroit, MI 48217. All rights reserved. *In These Times* is indexed in the Alternative Press Index. Publisher does not assume liability for unsolicited manuscripts or material. Manuscripts or material unaccompanied by stamped, self-addressed envelope will not be returned. All correspondence should be sent to: *In These Times*, 1300 W. Belmont Ave., Chicago, IL 60657. Subscriptions are \$29.50 a year (\$59 for institutions; \$35 outside the U.S. and its possessions). Advertising rates sent on request. Prices \$2; specify volume and number. All letters received in *In These Times* become property of the newspaper. We reserve the right to print letters in condensed form. Second-class postage paid at Chicago, IL. Postmaster: Send address change to *In These Times*, 1300 W. Belmont Ave., Chicago, IL 60657. This issue (Vol. 9, No. 32) published Aug. 21, 1985, for newsstand sales Aug. 21-Sept. 3, 1985.

Editor's note: In These Times correspondent William Gasperini was one of the journalists who accompanied the Witness for Peace delegation.

By William Gasperini

MANAGUA

MIDWAY THROUGH THE 29-hour period the Witness for Peace group was held captive on the Costa Rican-Nicaraguan border two weeks ago, the group learned the outside world was doubting the identity of their armed captors. But the group knew all along that the *contra* faction ARDE had taken them hostage.

Why would ARDE choose to detain the boat and haul the predominantly American group into a tiny house in the woods, knowing all the while that the world would be watching as two major TV networks and dozens of cameras recorded every event? The answer would become clearer as the group observed and talked with the captors, who were pathetic-looking *contras* dressed in T-shirts and U.S. Army fatigues and carrying assorted older rifles.

According to the boat captain (and later corroborated by military officials), this was the first boat to travel down the river since early 1983, when *contras* burned the German boat *Bramen* that had accidentally run aground. The captors told the group—which consisted of 53 priests, teachers, activists and journalists as well as one infant—that they had orders to stop any boat, and only an order from their “superiors” could release them.

Nicaraguan troops and ARDE *contras* have long battled in the area, while Costa Rican Civil Guards maintain a presence tacitly to allow ARDE to use their territories. Occasionally the guards get in the way, as on May 31 when two died in still unclear circumstances just two miles from where the peace boat would unwillingly spend the night of August 7. Short prayer vigils for those guards and the scores of Nicaraguans who have perished on the river, in fact, comprised the agenda of this “mission of peace” to the area.

From all indications, the captors were a local group, out of communication with their direct superior, who was somewhere nearby in the jungle. They also said someone had been sent to radio a man named “El Viejo,” who they identified as ARDE leader Eden Pastora. Two days earlier the mercurial former Sandinista had announced that his men would shoot the Witness for Peace delegation—he called them “wolves in sheeps’ clothing”—and claimed that they were really on a mission for the Sandinistas.

While awaiting the arrival of this “superior” or an order from “El Viejo,” one captor, identified only as “Israel,” sat on the boat and talked with group members. When told the world doubted he was in fact a member of ARDE, “Israel” looked puzzled.

“Why would they say that?” he asked. He thought for a moment, and pointed to his U.S. Army issue boots, equipment belt and battle-fatigue pants. “We are with ARDE,” he said. “Here’s the proof.”

Both “Israel” and the other man apparently in charge, named “William,” expressed indignation that the U.S. government had cut those supplies and that the other main *contra* group, the Nicaraguan Democratic Force (FDN), drew more attention than ARDE.

Apart from the equipment, members of the Witness party noted their captors’ military readiness and behavior under orders as indications that they were a fighting force.

Furthermore, a wide, well-used trail the group took when returning to the boat from the house in the woods indicated a strong military presence in the forest region. Large enough to accommodate a vehicle, the trail was a muddy morass pock-marked by thousands of footprints and running parallel to the river but concealed from it.

The strongest evidence of the captors’

Uncovering ARDE's role in hostage event



ARDE *contras* in camp Delta, Nicaragua, 1984. The Witness for Peace group held captive on the Costa Rican-Nicaraguan border never doubted that the *contra* faction ARDE had taken them hostage.

identity came at noon of the second day when the mysterious “superior” finally arrived. Led into a clearing, the peace group and journalists stood in a semi-circle facing a mustachioed man who wore a black beret and military fatigues and held an American M-14 rifle.

“I’m sorry you had a bad night,” he said, identifying himself as “Daniel.” “But you must realize this is a war zone. As you know, there are many anti-Communist fighters in this area, and that is who we are. We do not belong either to ARDE or the FDN.”

Daniel then said he wanted to see the Nicaraguans in the party. When the nine crew members approached him, they immediately recognized Daniel. This “superior” was later identified as Noel Boniche, native of the island of Solentiname in Lake Nicaragua, where he used to work in a development agency.

“He stole a lot of money several years back and fled to Costa Rica,” boat owner Enrique Reyes told the group after their release as the boat chugged up the river. “Everyone knew he then joined the *contras*.”

Boniche’s picture appeared in a poster mural about ARDE’s attack on the German boat in 1983. In the photograph he is standing with three other men, who have ARDE patches on their clothing. Officials have also linked him with other major actions in the region since then.

Before joining ARDE, Boniche dedicated himself to smuggling in the southern border area. He stole 120,000 *cordobas* (then worth \$4,000) from the development agency in March 1983 and left, according to Nicaraguan officials.

By claiming his men were merely “anti-Communist fighters,” Boniche himself unwittingly dispelled the notion—reported by some of the international press—that the boat was actually taken hostage by Sandinista soldiers posing as *contras*. Since the incident, Managua has in fact asked for Bon-

iche’s extradition. But why the denial of any ARDE connection?

As he stood in the clearing, with his now familiar “troops” standing by, the answer seemed clear. While the other men appeared genuinely unaware of what to do with this group of spirited, singing Christians, Boniche knew precisely what to do next. One of 18 regional commanders who report directly to Pastora, according to “Israel,” Boniche grasped the power of the media and, more important, that of suggestion.

By rejecting the ARDE claim, he immediately cast confusion over the incident, lending credence at least in the outside world to what the first AP report would call “holes in their story,” and lessening the impact of whatever the peace activists would later say.

The “captors’ identity” question continued to dominate press reports, despite the ample contradictory information provided by Boniche’s own troops.

Yet if ARDE had little to gain from the capture, then the Costa Ricans had even less to gain. For years government officials have denied that ARDE uses Costa Rican territory. Seeking to minimize the damage of the incident, the head of the Costa Rican Civil Guard quickly intercepted the group in a helicopter soon after the release.

Col. Lesmer Chavez casually questioned group leader Ed Griffin about the detention and assured the now-edgy party that his men had “undertaken to clean the area.” Later, however, Chavez stated over the radio that no detention had in fact occurred, attributing the 29-hour delay to “engine trouble” apparently because the captain had mentioned that one engine piston was not functioning well.

By then, however, the weary group had new obstacles to deal with as the civil guard called the boat over once again at the last post before the river heads away from the border. With dusk approaching and a two-hour trip still ahead, the guard said the U.S. consul wanted to talk to the group.

As the Civil Guard awaited orders from, ironically, “our superiors,” they became the second military force to detain the peace boat. The Witness for Peace group did not believe Guard assurances that darkness would not bring further danger upriver, and demanded to be released immediately. Their request was not honored.

The consul never came, however. Eventually the boat started off again, amid grumblings about seeking congressional hearings into U.S. influence over Costa Rican affairs. Ahead lay a tumultuous welcome in El Castillo and the race by journalists to get the details of the mini-odyssey out to an anxious world.

As for the Witness for Peace group, the incident did not change the original plans for continuing prayer and activity with the people of the remote area. Amid charges that it had sought publicity in taking the trip down the river, Witness for Peace announced that another delegation would soon travel into the northern war zone. ■

Contra captors discuss politics

Both “Israel” and “William,” the two men in control of the Witness for Peace group during their captivity, talked freely and without hesitation. In separate conversations, they provided detailed information concerning their pasts, their reasons for fighting the Sandinistas, the structure of ARDE and their loyalty to Eden Pastora.

“William” said he was 35 and made the major decisions during the incident. A gaunt-faced man who owns a farm in central Nicaragua, he said his father had been in dictator Anastasio Somoza’s National Guard. After the revolution, he participated in activities including political meetings, but soon “tired of them” and claimed neighbors accused him of being a *contra* when he stopped attending. Three years ago he left to join ARDE and pledged to “fight to the death against the Communists controlling Nicaragua.”

“Israel,” 24, has also been with ARDE for three years and comes from Bluefields on the Atlantic Coast. One brother in the guard, which he called “Somoza’s army,” has been in prison since 1979; another is also with the *contras*. Although acknowledging some positive change had come with the Nicaraguan revolution, such as the 1980 literacy crusade and health cam-

paigns, he claimed that the revolution “left its original plan when the Cubans and other internationalists arrived and took control of the country.”

Many of the observations made by the two men were identical. The following is a summary of their major points:

- Although ARDE and the FDN are “brothers in the same struggle,” ARDE disagrees with such FDN tactics as civilian massacres. If the groups are to unify, “*Somocista* leadership of the FDN must change,” a point made often by Pastora. “The FDN fights to destroy, while ARDE fights for democracy. We turn our prisoners over to the Red Cross, while they kill them.”

- ARDE troops are loyal to Pastora and not Alfonso Robelo, who “has money but no following. He tried to take over when Commandante Pastora was wounded last year [after the May 1984 press conference bombing], but he only deals with politics and has his own group, the MDN.”

- President Reagan is a “good man” but “lacks the will to throw out *los nueve*” (the nine Sandinista commanders). “If the U.S. were to supply us with the same amount of helicopters, arms and supplies as the USSR gives Managua, we would win the war.”

—W.G.

INSHORT

David Futrelle

Where they breed

The long arm of Reed Irvine, the ultraconservative founder and president of Accuracy In Media (AIM) a media "watchdog" group, may soon reach into the groves of academe. You see, according to Irvine, that's where all those pesky "liberal" journalists seem to breed.

A new organization called Accuracy in Academia, working out of AIM's Washington, D.C., office, will try to make sure that "innocent [college] kids who don't know anything," as Irvine told the *Chronicle of Higher Education*, will not be fed "disinformation or misinformation" by "liberal" and leftist professors in the humanities and social sciences. The group will collect reports from students and older people auditing classes, and if professors don't correct what is deemed "misinformation" by the group, it will publicize those reports as widely as it can.

The group says it will only try to keep things "accurate," and won't challenge opinions or interpretations. But, as many have noted, Irvine and his cronies seem to have a hard time distinguishing between fact and interpretation, between their own opinions and the Absolute Truth. Malcolm Lawrence, head of the group, told *In These Times* that he was on the lookout for "phony arguments" and "phony figures." He said that when a number of different interpretations are given for events, this "can lead to confusion," and that we have "plenty of documents" that should clear up that sort of problem.

Lawrence said the group was "not on a witchhunt," but targets of the group are, suspiciously, all on one side of the political spectrum. Irvine is especially interested in the 10,000-20,000 "Marxist" professors he says are on campuses across the U.S.

Irvine denies that the group's activities will harm academic freedom—he calls them "an expression of academic freedom." Somewhat more candidly, Lawrence admits that "there could be" a chilling effect on those who try to present controversial theories. But he said he was working "for the good of the country." Joe McCarthy said that, too.

The Village's voice?

New York, known for its large and highly visible homosexual community, hasn't yet elected a gay person to the City Council. David Rothenburg, running in Manhattan's 3rd district, would emphasize the "yet." The district, which includes Greenwich Village, is home to a sizable gay population and politics there are decidedly left of center.

Though he hopes, if elected, to provide a "voice" for the lesbian and gay community and to "call attention to the AIDS (acquired immune deficiency syndrome) crisis," Rothenburg wants to be seen as a "multi-issue progressive." He stresses his 18 years of experience as director of the Fortune Society, devoted to helping ex-convicts and "kids in trouble" through training and counselling, and his concern about such issues as affordable housing.

Rothenburg faces a formidable opponent in the Democratic primary, 16-year incumbent Carol Greitzer, who has received support (and some cash) from Mayor Ed Koch, as well as the endorsement of the National Organization for Women. Greitzer's positions on many issues are similar to Rothenburg's, and even some Rothenburg supporters describe her voting record as "impeccable."

Rothenburg doesn't so much disagree with Greitzer's positions as with her style, which a Rothenburg staffer characterized as one of "semi-retirement." Rothenburg argues that "we have to know the difference between someone who has a commitment to our issues and an office holder who 'gets around' to supporting us."

Others share his opinion. Americans for Democratic Action has put its weight behind Rothenburg's bid—though it gave Greitzer's voting record last year a 100 percent rating—as have a coalition of unions, the Rev. William Sloane Coffin, and the Village Independent Democrats, a politically important club that Greitzer, ironically, helped found.

To the source

The confrontation long brewing at the Austin, Minn., Hormel meatpacking plant (see *In These Times*, July 24 and Aug. 7) headed toward a strike on August 17 after 93 percent of the local union's voting members rejected



David Rothenburg wants to be the first gay New York City Council member.

In what may become the year's most ironic free speech battle, Provost Raymond Mark of Illinois' Northwestern University suspended Assistant English Professor Barbara Foley on July 31 and has asked for her resignation. The suspension came after an April 13 rally protesting a lecture by Nicaraguan contra leader Adolfo Calero, where Foley told the crowd of more than 300 that Calero "had no right to speak there and that he should be shot to get out of the country alive," according to the student newspaper *Summer Northwestern*. Protesters prevented Calero from speaking by blocking a lecture hall and splashing him with animal blood. The six-month suspension order for "grave professional misconduct," unprecedented in recent NWU history, culminated what one student source described as an organized conservative campaign to purge Foley for her outspoken Marxist politics. The actions included a petition against Foley signed by 1,000 students and presented to the NWU provost by Review Chairman Michael George. George, who described Foley's conduct as "part of a pretty long pedigree of offenses," was also responsible for tape-recording Foley at the April 13 rally and playing it back for the provost.

Joe Scheidler, described by Patrick Buchanan as "the Green Beret of the pro-life movement," is tired of people telling him and his anti-abortion allies they can't impose their

morality on others. "By God," he says, "we can and we will." A recent *Chicago Tribune Sunday Magazine* article described some of the ways he's trying to do just that—though one might wonder if what's he's trying to impose is really morality. Last July in Dallas, for example, Scheidler put his favorite weapon—a bullhorn—up to the window of an abortion clinic that had been bombed only a month earlier and led a chant of "Don't baby, don't baby, another's going to kill you." A former Planned Parenthood volunteer says that some "pro-lifers" Scheidler sent to her office threatened to kill her, and apparently Scheidler has no problems with a Dallas talk show hostess' suggestion that all those involved in abortion—and women using IUDs—be given the death penalty. Scheidler has more than abortion on his mind. "ERA? I'm against it... Women would have the absolute right to be unpregnant at all times."

The Rev. Jesse Jackson has expressed concern that a recent Chicago traffic accident may be turning into a platform for racism. In what was initially reported as a "tragic accident," seven youths were killed and scores wounded when a public bus collided with a Cadillac on August 9. Jackson noted that the incident now involved multiple reckless homicide charges against driver David Johnson, despite contradictory eyewitness accounts. The reverend called for "balance" between concern

for the white youths killed and justice for the black driver, who was handcuffed and shackled to his hospital bed by officers from the Cook County Sheriff's department, against doctor's orders.

And speaking of Jackson, you may remember that New York Mayor Ed Koch was one of the first to condemn him for his unfortunate "hymie" remark last summer. Now the times reveal that Koch, in 1977, called Rep. Ron Dellums (D-CA) a "Watusi from Berkeley" and a "Zulu warrior." *Village Voice* columnist Jack Newfield, who was the source for the quote, said that Koch's remarks were meant to be "derogatory and insulting," according to a *Washington Post* op-ed piece. Koch, though, phoned Dellums after the statements were publicized to tell him no insult was intended. Watusi, he said, are "strong and tall" and Zulus "elegant and stylish."

North Carolina's tougher drunk-driving laws may have a curious unintended effect—improved jail conditions. As Appalachia State University professor Joel Thompson explained in a report quoted by the *North Carolina Independent*, "Some lawyers and businessmen are serving a day or two" because of the new laws. These "people of means," says Thompson, are "beginning to see the inside of a jail" and have quite suddenly become interested in jail reform.

the company's final offer. It is not likely to be a typical strike. "Our focus is on the money behind the company," United Food and Commercial Workers Local P-9 President James Guyette said. First, hundreds of strikers and their families will demonstrate and leaflet at the Minneapolis headquarters and branches of First Bank System, a major Hormel financial backer. Then as many as 1,000 people will make a several day tour of Iowa and Nebraska, greeting and leafletting workers at other Hormel plants (and encouraging some to honor their picket lines), picketing banks and canvassing homes throughout the communities. "Our strike strategy is so powerful I don't know of any corporation or power structure than can stand up to it," said union consultant Ray Rogers of Corporate Campaign, Inc.

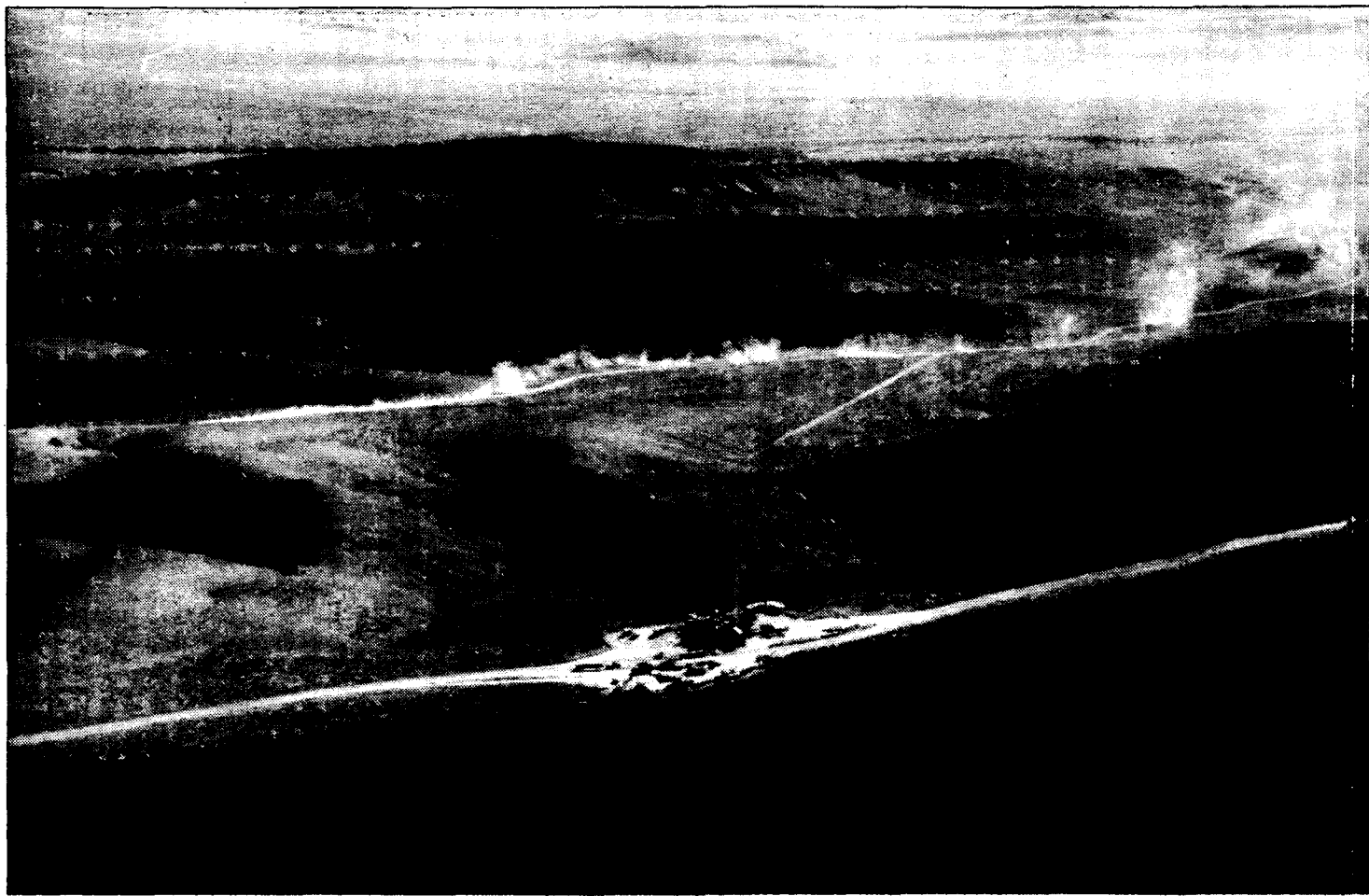
Hormel's final offer would raise current wages to \$10 an hour but freeze them for three years, leaving workers still behind where they were five years ago. It would reduce seniority rights, increase management prerogatives, set up a two-tier wage scale and worsen working conditions, Guyette said. The local had asked

for \$11.25 an hour but agreed to tie wages to profits in a way that would guarantee the company at least last year's level of profits. It wanted improved safety and grievance handling and was willing to offer its own solutions for managerial complaints (such as a "well pay" bonus to encourage workers not to miss a day).

Despite earlier disagreements over strategy between the local and international, the strike has official sanction and workers will draw strike benefits.

Local P-9's battle has inspired a network of local union leaders from across the country to organize as National Rank-and-File Against Concessions to support the local and other unions fighting concessions. Around 170 representatives from a variety of unions met on August 10 to plan a major national conference, oriented to local union officials fighting concession demands, to be held in Chicago sometime in early November. Their address is c/o UAW Local 879, 2191 Ford Parkway, St. Paul, MN 55116.

Contributors this week: Stephen DeGange, David Moberg and Bill Hall



By Dennis Bernstein & Connie Blitt

BEATTY, NV
Y 1998, THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT has promised to dispose of some 40,000 tons of radioactive waste that is accumulating at the nation's nuclear power reactors and nuclear weapons manufacturing plants. The Department of Energy (DOE) is searching for a site that will safely contain the waste for at least 10,000 years.

But locating a permanent repository for such large amounts of the highly radioactive materials, the by-product of 40 years of nuclear policy, has not come easy. The DOE's draft Environmental Assessment that analyzes nine targeted sites around the nation has not been well received. In fact, a wall of opposition has formed in every state that was mentioned by the DOE report. Many grassroots citizens' groups, along with local and state officials, are criticizing the DOE's methods of choosing a site and seriously questioning if the technology will be available in time for the agency to safely carry out its plans.

Yucca Mountain, which borders the Nevada Test Site, is a prime candidate for the new national waste repository. The federal government owns 86 percent of Nevada and much of that land is used for military purposes. For decades southern Nevada has experienced shaking ground motion and occasional winds of radiation from the nuclear weapons tests on the massive Nevada Test Site run by the DOE. Some Nevadans have gotten used to such incidents and welcome the proposed high-level waste repository, with its accompanying promise of thousands of new jobs. But surveys show that a majority of the state's residents oppose the siting of the nuclear waste repository at Yucca Mountain.

Long-time Nevada resident Benny Levy foresees nothing but problems if his state is chosen to become the nation's nuclear waste dump. Levy, the founder of the Nevada Test Site Radiation Victims Association, worked on the Nevada Test Site from 1951 to 1977. Before the above-ground testing ban, he retrieved sensitive monitoring equipment from ground zero 20 minutes after bombs were detonated. He was constantly reassured by his superiors that the work he was doing was "absolutely" safe. But the fact that most of Levy's former co-workers are now dying or dead from some type of cancer, does not encourage his continued trust in governmental assurances of safety.

Levy and other opponents of the Nevada nuclear waste dump take a dim view of nuclear industry advocates who maintain, for instance, that high-level nuclear waste is about as dangerous as a sealed bottle of 100 proof whiskey sitting on a bar. "Only when that alcohol starts to be consumed," reads a newsletter from the Nevada Nuclear

NUCLEAR WASTE

Nevadans concerned about repository site

Waste Study Committee, "is there a concern for the effect it has on the body." The article goes on to say that low-level doses of both alcohol and radiation "may actually be beneficial to health under certain circumstances."

"They're lying now like they did back in the '50s," Levy told *In These Times*. "If it's so safe, why don't they sprinkle [nuclear waste] on the Atlantic seacoast's beaches?"

Challenging the DOE.

Nevada's Nuclear Waste Project Office has released a 747-page report that aggressively challenges many of the contentions made in the Department of Energy's draft environmental assessment. The state's report points out that the DOE's initial assessment did not distinguish between the transportation risks to the various sites, nor did it consider anything but best-case scenarios.

No mention was made of the possible impact to towns like Caliente, Nev., which is cut in half by the train tracks over which the high-level nuclear waste might very well be carried on its way to Yucca Mountain.

Gale Armstrong, Lincoln County's commissioner, would like very much to believe the DOE can safely transport and store the waste. Since unemployment has reached 28 percent in his hometown of Caliente, teenagers flee after graduating high school because there is no chance of employment.

Although Armstrong says, "it would tickle us pink" to have the availability of new jobs due to the construction and maintenance of the nuclear waste dump, the DOE's engineers have been unable to quiet his fears about the thousands of trains filled with radioactive waste that would pass each year through the center of Caliente on their way to Yucca Mountain.

sert Experience. Pointing to examples of Moses and the Israelites taking 40 years to enter the Promised Land, and Jesus' 40 days in the desert before taking up his ministry, MacMurphy said, "Not only is 40 symbolic of a long time, but it is also symbolic of a long time in which to make change. We have been 40 years in this nuclear desert, and it's time we make some real changes."

The participants in the action are calling for an immediate ban on the production and testing of nuclear weapons worldwide. Former Pentagon analyst Daniel Ellsberg, who was arrested on the first day of the protest, believes that the recent declaration by the Soviet Union of a unilateral moratorium on nuclear testing is a significant step toward disarmament. The Soviets have said they will not test nuclear weapons from Aug. 6, 1985, to Jan. 1, 1986. "They are not just taking a vacation for five months," asserted Ellsberg. "They are proposing the testing be over forever" if the U.S. responds in kind. "This is the time to stop testing weapons," he said, "and start testing the Soviets."

Atomic veteran Anthony Guarisco has seen and felt the effects of nuclear weapons. Guarisco and several family members are suffering from multiple ailments that he believes began with the inhalation of plutonium particles during nuclear testing in the Pacific one year after

Protestors arrested

"The atomic veterans were the sacrificial lamb that was laid on the altar of the atomic age," declared Anthony Guarisco, director of the International Alliance of Atomic Veterans. "We were sacrificed in order to develop the larger detonations that today threaten each and every one of us."

Guarisco was one of 121 arrested for trespassing on the Nevada Test Site during the August Desert Witness, an event marking the 40 years of nuclear development and testing since the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. For four mornings starting August 6, about 300 people entered the test site and walked for two miles across the desert. Those who chose to continue past a police line were arrested.

According to spokesman Duncan MacMurphy, the period of 40 years since the bombing is of special significance to the religious peace groups who organized the event, including Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Fellowship of Reconciliation, Jewish Peace Fellowship, Pax Christi, Sojourners and Nevada De-

IN THESE TIMES AUG. 21-SEPT. 3, 1985 5
Yucca Mountain, Nevada: one of several possible U.S. locations for the dump site.

The railroad tracks parallel the town's main street and pass within 10 feet of the old Union Pacific stationhouse, which now serves as city hall, court house and museum.

Despite assurances from DOE engineers that the trains would be going fast enough to minimize the effects of radiation,

The DOE is searching for a site to put the waste for at least 10,000 years.

Armstrong worries about the day when the trains are backed up and sitting in the center of town. Las Vegas got a taste of such an experience recently when a train of radium-laced dirt from Montclair, N.J., sat idle in a downtown trainyard near the Union Plaza Hotel-Casino on its way to a low-level waste dump in Beatty, Nev. Union Pacific had planned to unload their cargo onto trucks in Las Vegas, but were persuaded by local officials to transfer the radioactive material at a trainyard in a smaller town nearby. The crisis stirred up public awareness of the hazards of transporting radioactive material and North Las Vegas hurriedly passed a resolution opposing the high-level waste repository. It thus joined a growing list of public entities, including the State Tourist Commission and a local branch of the PTA, who have taken such a stand.

Gale Armstrong and the Lincoln County Commission are concerned about the possibility of an accident near Caliente. There are steep canyons that the railroad tracks traverse in southern Nevada, and each winter, according to Armstrong, floodwaters wash away the roadbeds causing derailments and time-consuming repairs. Several years ago a train carrying phosphorus flipped off the tracks on a sharp canyon curve and burst into flame. One hundred feet of steel track melted in the ensuing fire. Because there are two sets of tracks in Caliente, Armstrong says it is not impossible that two trains could collide, and if one contained phosphorus, he doubts any "exotic metal" cannister of radioactive material could survive the intense heat.

The DOE is also considering the possibility of using trucks to transport the dangerous waste to the proposed Yucca Mountain

Continued on page 22

the bombings at Hiroshima and Nagasaki. "My conditions had their beginnings right there at Bikini, right after the second detonation, when I was running around the island vomiting, my body covered with welts."

Guarisco, former research director of the National Association of Atomic Veterans, estimates that more than half of the 250,000 veterans who witnessed atomic bomb tests in the late '40s and '50s have perished from radiation-related illnesses and, as in Japan, the physical effects are still lingering. "Last year I was at Hiroshima Hospital," he told those gathered on the Nevada Test Site, "and I tell you there are still people dying from those bombs."

Most who were arrested pled guilty or no contest and were sentenced by Judge Sullivan to 24 hours in jail or three days of community service. Daniel Ellsberg, however, pled innocent. His trial date was set for September 26 when he will argue that President Reagan is committing an impeachable offense by refusing to engage in negotiations for a comprehensive test ban treaty and by testing during a moratorium issued by the Soviets. "Our presence was not illegal," explains Ellsberg, "because it was a necessary citizens' action to expose, protest and resist serious violations of law that are taking place at that very site."

-D.B. & C.B.

By Joan Walsh

LOS ANGELES

WITH CONSERVATIVES CONTROLLING more of the national political terrain, consigning the liberal-left to ever-shrinking turf, what if part of the left volunteered to go off and stake out a new center, to restore some middle ground to American politics as well as scout for citizens who haven't fallen wholly under rightist ideological domain?

That's one way to characterize the current drift of California's Campaign for Eco-

expanded public role in the economy. Hence the push for a new name, since "economic democracy," though a nice attempt to come up with some American language for left ideas, doesn't much describe what the organization is publicly all about anymore. These days Hayden himself is almost as likely to condemn examples of government bureaucracy as corporate abuse.

Perhaps the clearest articulation of the analysis guiding CED's reassessment came in "Going West," Hayden's strategy paper for bringing together a Democratic bloc of Western states to recapture the White House. An attempt to join the national debate over the future of the Democratic

current political stasis.

Ask any astute member for an explanation of the current tumult within CED and you'll hear the same introduction: In nine years the political ground has shifted beneath the group. A Democrat-controlled White House and Senate was captured by conservative Republicans; in California, the shift from liberal, risk-taking Gov. Jerry Brown (a CED ally), to stolid Republican George Deukmejian was arguably more cataclysmic. Where once a group like CED could dog the liberal establishment from the left, now much of the liberal establishment is on the outside, too, howling in.

Similar political straits constrict all left-

attempt at a bill regulating VDTs, expressly telling unions, "Good bill, bad author." Increasingly Hayden is looking toward a role in national politics, and his multiple ambitions are reflected in CED. To make the jump to the national stage, Hayden is presenting the policy and program of "Going West" to a reportedly receptive national Democratic audience, while CED commits its electoral energies to bringing California into the Democratic column in the 1988 presidential election.

"We have to prove to ourselves and politicians that as an organization working with the Democratic Party we can generate the volunteers, money and campaign skills to make California a Democratic state in 1988," says political director Bob Mulholland.

Even in an organization known for pragmatism, Mulholland stands out. Of CED's leaders, he's the most outspoken in his belief that a change in CED's goals and tactics also requires an ideological overhaul. "We started out in the post-Watergate period when people had a mistrust of corporations and the government. Now we're talking to a less sympathetic audience. People are more tired of big government than big business. The Democrats have become the party associated with taxes, with a weak national defense, and to work on changing the party's image CED has to change its message."

New ideas.

CED's evolving message and methods could be observed last month in the Olympian setting of L.A.'s Mount St. Mary's College, the scene of a conference titled "New Ideas for a New Majority" (emphasis on new) that drew 400 people. Three large sessions focused on economic growth, crime and education. Small workshops examined angles on those issues.

But probably the best place to glimpse the political analysis shaping CED's transformation was a debate that opened the conference, "Which Way, America?" There Hayden sat in the middle of the political spectrum, with former White House communications director David Gergen to his right, Assemblywoman Maxine Waters (D-L.A.) to his left and *Washington Monthly* Editor Charles Peters someplace in mid-air (to prove that neo-liberalism is simply liberalism stripped of the politics that make it achievable).

Some people found Gergen's inclusion a symptom of CED's rightward drift, but it's more correctly viewed as typifying one of CED's longtime strengths: it's the only group on the left that acts like it might have

POLITICS

The 'new, improved' Campaign for Economic Democracy

omic Democracy (CED), the 12,000-member grassroots organization formed to channel the left-wing electoral activism sparked by Tom Hayden's 1976 Democratic U.S. Senate campaign. In the throes of a thorough internal reassessment, CED is seeking a route out of a political cul de sac that is part of a product of the times, part of its own making.

Although formal changes in CED's strategy, goals, structure—probably even its name—won't come until later this year, the reorganization only codifies a conceptual shift that's been evident for a long time. CED leaders acknowledge that the group's emphasis on issues like education, child care, crime and toxics are today designed to appeal to a middle-class mainstream, not to indict the corporate system or call for an

Party, the paper calls for making the Democrats the party of economic growth, through a partnership between business, labor and government. With its enthusiasm for entrepreneurialism and high-tech innovation, "Going West" would not make an uncomfortable political platform for Sen. Gary Hart's presidential campaign. As Hayden sums it up, "The basic struggle ahead in the Democratic Party is not between 'left' and 'right'...but between old and new."

So the search is on within CED for new issues, new constituencies and a new role in state and national politics, which seems to require shedding its left-wing associations. But to paraphrase Hayden, the struggle is not to decide whether CED is still "left," but whether it's right—as in correct—about the limits of left politics in its

of-center groups, of course. CED's are tightened by its unique role, or roles, in California politics. Its early, comparatively easy victories electing members and allies to city and county government around the state—most notably Santa Monica, Chico, Santa Cruz and Butte and Humboldt Counties—gave CED statewide prominence as a network of local chapters and campaign troops bent on taking municipal power on a platform of tenant rights, land-use controls and environmental protection. Those were the good old days.

Now, CED leaders say, many of its local operations have withered. Dedicated campaign workers are harder to come by and issues are not so clear. And at the same time statewide property interests awakened by early CED victories have struck back with their own network of campaign consultants and PACs that specialize in defeating CED. State Sen. H.L. Richardson (R-Arcadia), for instance, has a Free Market PAC that raises money to fight a "Hayden-Fonda" takeover around the state.

"I think we're asking if we're going to be isolated by the attacks on us, or if we're going to be aggressive players for political power," says CED Executive Director Jack Nicholl. Being aggressive, Nicholl believes, means more than "satisfying ourselves with college town victories." CED has to have a major presence in the state's urban areas. To that end, the organization will

Tom Hayden's CED strategy paper "Going West" called for bringing together a Democratic bloc of Western states to recapture the White House.



The struggle, according to Hayden, is not to decide whether CED is still "left," but whether it's right—as in correct—about the limits of left politics in its current political stasis.

likely consolidate operations in San Francisco, San Jose, Los Angeles and Santa Monica, and draw back efforts and resources from other places around the state. Many of the chapters will be allowed to wither away—an after-the-fact decision in some places, but one that makes a lot of people even within the organization worry that CED is abandoning its "grassroots" emphasis.

Yet CED's grassroots character has always been overstated, both by its right-wing opponents as well as by its admirers. Its success in twice electing Hayden to the state assembly (with Jane Fonda's financial assistance) has only aggravated its traditional internal tension: how does a nominally grassroots organization maintain its dynamism when a chief *raison d'être* is advancing a politician's career?

Today Hayden is a friendly but frustrated back-bench player in the assembly. A recent *Wall Street Journal* piece called it "Tom Hayden's Political Prison," outlining how a fellow Democrat killed Hayden's

some power one day and therefore periodically engages "the other side" face to face.

But there wasn't very much to engage. Gergen was rather gracious, if oily, distancing himself from right-wing extremes whenever he got the chance. He dismissed warnings that political realignment has doomed the Democrats, terming the future "very much up for grabs" by either party. And Peters, ostensibly to Hayden's right, made the more impassioned attack on the "politics of selfishness" that twice elected Ronald Reagan, though he blamed unions, women and other Democratic constituencies for similar shortsighted self-interest.

What was clear from the debate is that if Hayden could cast who appears on the political stage with him, he'd easily be the most interesting politician there. Because Maxine Waters, for all her political spunk and integrity, understates the Democrats' problems and the Republicans' strengths when she insists the Democrats have lost their national majority by "failing to ad-

Continued on page 10

U.S. losing war on toxic wastes

By Marvin Wanetick and Richard Asinof

WASHINGTON, D.C.

THE EVENING OF JUNE 25 MARKED the low point of what has proven a discouraging summer for environmental advocates here. All week long the House Energy and Commerce Committee had voted to add loophole after loophole to a bill reauthorizing Superfund, the federal program to clean up hazardous waste dumps. The final committee vote approved by a 31-10 margin a bill so bad that the Sierra Club's Blake Early said it could delay attempts to solve the toxic waste crisis until well into the next century.

The Comprehensive Environmental Response, Compensation and Liability Act (CERCLA), which is Superfund's formal name, was originally passed in 1980 as a response to the hundreds of abandoned hazardous waste sites being discovered around the country. It gave the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) the task of first finding and listing all abandoned waste sites, and then overseeing their cleanup, either with the cooperation and financing of the responsible polluters or with Superfund monies raised mostly by a tax on chemical feedstocks, the raw materials that make up most synthetic chemicals. CERCLA expires September 30.

But the high hopes that environmentalists held for a quick cleanup under Superfund have not been realized. The hundreds of "suspected" dumpsites mushroomed into more than 20,000 known sites by the end of 1984, and the list of priority sites for cleanup—where public health is most endangered—is expected to reach 10,000. And government experts predict that when all the hazardous waste sites have been discovered, the number of potential toxic timebombs will grow to more than 378,000.

According to a recent study by the Congressional Office of Technology Assessment, the actual cost of cleaning up the toxic quagmires could cost \$100 billion. That estimate reveals the inadequacy of original Superfund funding—\$1.6 billion over five years—and in part explains why EPA management of the program has been ineffective. The agency says that it has been impossible to inspect even half of the waste sites, let alone clean up the dangerous ones.

Since the Superfund program began in 1981, EPA has been able to claim only six sites as being "completely" cleaned up. A National Campaign Against Toxic Hazards report, however, charges that three of these sites still present health hazards to surrounding communities, and two others were "probably erroneously placed on the priority cleanup list."

The urgency of the need for toxic waste cleanup was underscored by a recent survey by the Oversight and Investigations subcommittee of the Energy and Commerce Committee. It found that 40 percent of groundwater supplies—the source of about half of the nation's drinking water—have already been contaminated by hazardous chemicals. One major reason for this calamity has been that the most common and cheapest method of storing or disposing of hazardous waste is landfilling. Even as late as 1980, the chemical industries were promising that "secure" landfills would prevent buried toxics from leaking into neighboring basements.

But the search for a "secure" landfill has proved a chimera: the truth is that all landfills leak. According to EPA research analyst and in-house critic William Sanjour, every new "state of the art" landfill technology has failed within a year of implementation. Despite available permanent treatment technologies—including incineration, solidification and recycling, the EPA has continued to allow wastes from Superfund sites to be trucked to new or existing landfills in an attempt to hold down cleanup costs. Hazardous waste activists refer to this as the "toxic merry-go-round."



dous waste activists refer to this as the "toxic merry-go-round."

Last year the Resource Conservation and Recovery Act, the law that regulates current use and disposal of hazardous chemicals, was amended to set up timetables and standards to encourage the phasing out of landfilling, thereby preventing new Superfund sites. But no such policy exists to prevent old Superfund sites from becoming new Superfund sites.

Fatally flawed.

To understand the current battle in Congress, it's necessary to go back to last fall, when a strong Superfund reauthorization bill sponsored by Rep. James Florio (D-NJ), the original sponsor in 1980, passed the House 323-33, but died in the Senate despite a last-ditch attempt by Sen. Bill Bradley (D-NJ) to bring it to a vote on the session's final day.

This year the Superfund Coalition—an ad hoc group representing about 30 environmental, consumer, labor and public interest organizations that has been lobbying for Superfund since the start of 1984—hoped that an even stronger bill than last year's would emerge from committee. But Rep. Dennis Eckart (D-OH), Committee Chair Rep. John Dingell (D-MI), Rep. Norman Lent (R-NY) and Rep. James Broyhill (R-NC) joined forces to bushwack Florio and the Coalition from the start. At the first mark-up session of Florio's subcommittee,

they assembled a cabal of Republicans and conservative Democrats who voted to kill Florio's bill and replace it with what is known as the Dingell-Broyhill bill. Since then, Eckert, the bill's principal author, and his allies have repelled almost every Superfund Coalition-endorsed amendment, both in the subcommittee and the full committee, leaving a bill that is characterized by Leslie Dach of the National Audubon Society as "fatally flawed."

The major Superfund controversies involve the following issues:

- **Mandatory Schedules.** Historically, the experience of environmental legislation is that EPA moves significantly more quickly when it is subjected to concrete congressional deadlines rather than its own sense of urgency. Environmentalists proposed requiring initiation of 150 cleanups each year and investigation of all 20,000 currently known sites by the end of 1986. Yet the new bill requires only the initiation of 150 investigations a year, with a provision mandating commencement of cleanup on 90 percent of the sites within a year after the often lengthy investigations are completed. According to Dach, there are so many waivers and exemptions in the bill that "the EPA could compound its dismally slow record by delaying any new cleanup starts for as much as six years."

- **Cleanup Standards.** This involves two issues—the amount of contamination left behind at a Superfund site after a cleanup

IN THESE TIMES AUG. 21-SEPT. 3, 1985 7 effort is completed, and how to handle the hazardous material that is taken away. As to the question of "How clean is clean?" the Superfund Coalition erroneously believed that the standards approved by Congress in last year's bill would be easily approved again. The Dingell-Broyhill bill, however, allows the EPA to waive federal standards for more than 129 hazardous chemicals. Because of this loophole, deadly and cancer-causing chemicals such as benzene, carbon tetrachloride and nickel could continue to leak into ground and surface waters even after a Superfund site has been declared "cleaned up." And the Dingell-Broyhill bill is even more permissive regarding where the removed wastes go. It encourages the continuation of the "toxic merry-go-round" by allowing Superfund wastes to be transported to a leaking landfill, so long as the owner had agreed to take "corrective action." The Superfund Coalition and Rep. Florio have proposed ordering permanent treatment of Superfund wastes "wherever feasible or achievable."

- **Leaking Underground Storage Tanks.** The EPA estimates that hundreds of thousands out of a total of two million gasoline storage tanks may leak over the next decade. Currently the leaking tanks are not covered under Superfund, and the Superfund Coalition proposed to rectify this oversight. The Energy and Commerce Committee, however, voted to create a separate program, and limited tank owner liability to \$3 million per leak incident. Given that 40 percent of all tanks are owned by major oil companies, Blake Early of the Sierra Club dubbed this the "BOBO," or Big Oil Bail Out. The Superfund Coalition supports liability limits only for small operators.

- **Right-to-Know.** HR 2817 contains a watered-down version of a strong "right-to-know" provision that the Superfund Coalition supports. The Dingell-Broyhill bill limits the numbers of chemicals covered and eliminates any provision for reporting about the venting or discharging of hazardous wastes.

- **Citizen Suits.** The Superfund Coalition says citizens should be given the right to sue polluters for an immediate cleanup if they can demonstrate "imminent and substantial endangerment." Unreasonable, charged Eckart and others, because such a right would tie up the courts for years. Although the same provision has existed in a number of federal laws since 1978 and only 189 suits have been brought to court, these types of suits are excluded in the Dingell-Broyhill bill.

- **Federal Cause of Action.** What the Superfund Coalition considers may be the most effective weapon in cleaning up Superfund sites is a federal right-to-sue provision. It would compel polluters to make dollars-and-cents decisions to avoid future compensation costs by cleaning up their wastes before they injure people. At the moment, such certain liability is missing. The Superfund Coalition has been seeking to give victims a right to sue in federal court and to standardize the statute of limitations to three years after the victim learns of the link between illness and the exposure to hazardous wastes. Not surprisingly, the Dingell-Broyhill bill does not include a "Federal Cause of Action."

As discouraging as this all has been for the Superfund Coalition, its members headed into August still optimistic about reversing these defeats on the House floor. Said Dan Becker, legislative counsel for Environmental Action, "Our big job will be to help voters around the country distinguish between the 'Superfraud' approved by the Energy and Commerce Committee and a Superfund bill that will be strong enough to accomplish its goal, cleaning up hazardous wastes. All the organizations in the Coalition are committed to educating voters and making the effectiveness of Superfund, rather than its mere existence, the issue that Congress members will be held accountable for."

Marvin Wanetick is the organizer for the Waste and Toxic Substances (WaTS) Project of Environmental Action. Richard Asinof is communications director for Environmental Action.

Since the Superfund program began in 1981, EPA has been able to claim only six sites as being "completely" safe, and one study disputes even that modest claim.

OHIO

Farmers' union still fighting Campbell for fair contract

By Bebe Raupe

TOLEDO, OH

"ONE, TWO, THREE, FOUR, don't buy Campbell's anymore. Five, six, seven, eight, not 'til they negotiate," chanted delegates to the Farm Labor Organizing Committee's (FLOC) Third Constitutional Convention here Aug. 3. The convention reaffirmed the union's seven-year boycott against the Campbell Soup Company because of its "modern-day slavery" on northwest Ohio and southern Michigan contract farms.

For 18 years FLOC has sought a collective bargaining agreement with the Camden, N.J., conglomerate that refuses to negotiate on the grounds that it does not hire field labor; it simply buys produce from farmers who do. FLOC considers this argument fatuous since Campbell sets the price for crops in advance and thereby indirectly determines what workers can be paid. After harvest upon harvest passed without real progress, FLOC mounted a consumer boycott of all Campbell's products and those of its subsidiaries in 1979, making it the focus of union agitation ever since.

FLOC is demanding the federal minimum hourly wage (\$3.35) for more than 6,000 farmworkers, many of them migrants who come north in the summer from Texas and Florida. They are currently paid a pound piece-rate of about 2 cents for tomatoes and 7 cents for cucumbers picked in Midwest fields under contract to Campbell's and its subsidiary, Vlasick pick-

les. The union is also asking for better working conditions, including protection from pesticides as well as sanitary toilet facilities.

In June Campbell announced the boycott was over because a tentative agreement had been reached with FLOC. But FLOC President Baldemar Velasquez told the convention that was a false statement calculated to discredit the union and confuse the public. "The agreement we have with Campbell is not a collective bargaining agreement, but more an understanding that creates mechanisms so that some day we might have collective agreements," he said, explaining an accord finalized May 6 that calls for an eight-person commission to develop and oversee representational procedures on contract farms in time for September's harvest.

Although both sides promised to keep the accord confidential until the commission completed its work, Campbell began leaking information about it—which the union claims is inaccurate—after Ohio's Catholic Bishops announced on June 17 that they would urge the state's 2.3 million Catholics to honor the boycott. Chaired by former Secretary of Labor John T. Dunlop, the commission will draft rules governing farmworker collective bargaining "for the first time outside of California," Velasquez said. Rules alone, however, do not guarantee free elections, he warned, citing the failure of California's Agricultural Labor Relations Board to protect field laborers' rights under Gov. George Deukmejian.

On the surface, the accord is "a landmark

concession," according to the union. Yet it claims that behind the scenes Campbell is trying to subvert any chance of union election or fair representation by "whipping up a survival hysteria" among farmers. In keeping with Campbell's no-role-in-wages position, the agreement establishes two collective bargaining relationships: one between Campbell and growers, another between growers and FLOC. To discourage bargaining, Campbell is threatening to cancel production contracts, he said. In turn, farmers are threatening "anyone who signs an authorization card" with dismissal, eviction or physical violence.

"We are in the midst of treacherous foot-stepping," said Velasquez. Many of Campbell's growers are withholding pay until farmworkers sign sharecropping agreements making them independent contractors ineligible for collective bargaining. It is inaccurate to classify seasonal workers as sharecroppers since their payment is not

An accord finalized with the company in May does not allow the union collective bargaining.

based upon the crop's price. According to the union system, this allows farmers and firms buying their produce to avoid paying minimum wages, keeping proper earning records and complying with child labor laws.

Velasquez said, "The battle against economic oppression is heating up" in farm labor camps, with certain workers refusing to sign sharecropping agreements and going for weeks without pay rather than relin-

quishing their bargaining rights. Meanwhile, Campbell wants elections only "on farms where FLOC has the best chance of losing," he said, and it is trying to limit representation bids to 15 of their 60 tomato farms and less than 12 of their 162 cucumber farms.

Since Campbell persists in trying to deny farmworkers freedom of association, the boycott will not be called off until a contract is negotiated, Velasquez said, adding, "we have the patience to stick it out as long as it takes."

Still, FLOC is guardedly optimistic that a settlement is not far off. Though the boycott has not hurt Campbell financially, it is damaging the company's image. Since September, Corporate Campaign Inc. has increased public pressure by eliciting FLOC support from customers of firms linked financially with Campbell, such as the Philadelphia National Bank, Prudential and Equitable Life. This dual-pronged pressure tactic led to the procedural accord, FLOC contends, and should eventually yield a contract.

Aside from renewing commitments to established strategies, the convention acted to bring FLOC into "the mainstream of the U.S. labor movement" by voting unanimously to affiliate with the United Farm Workers of America (UFW) "as soon as possible." While FLOC has had informal relations with the UFW, at this juncture it "needs wider support from union groups" is the only way farmworkers can "hope to win their rights," he added.

FLOC pledged support of the UFW's new California grape boycott, as well as the AFL-CIO consumer boycott of Adolph Coors Co. products.

UFW President Cesar Chavez told the convention, "Farmers don't want to recognize our right to have a union. Boycotts and strikes are the only avenue farmworkers have to fight back. If farmers want peace, they must give us dignity."

Bebe Raupe covers labor issues in Ohio for the Bureau of National Affairs, Inc.

WORKERS TRUST HEALTH PLAN

Health Insurance Options for Progressive Business

Workers Trust is a cooperative association serving democratically-managed businesses nationwide. The Workers Trust Health Plan is one of the benefits available to members.

- **Low Group Rates**
Compare our rates with any similar coverage.
- **Alternative Health Care**
Homeopathic, naturopathic, acupuncture and more.
- **Women's Health**
Annual GYN exam, PAP smear, pregnancy, abortion.
- **Named Partners**
Unmarried and same-sex partners eligible for coverage.
- **Over 600 Businesses**
WT serves democratically-managed business nationwide.
- **Unisex Rates**
No discrimination against women.
- **Responsible Investment**
Premium reserves are invested in a socially responsible manner.



Workers Trust
SERVICES FOR THE DEMOCRATIC WORKPLACE

CALL TOLL FREE: 1-800-447-2345
or write: P.O. Box 11618, Eugene, OR 97440

"WT offers a far more comprehensive and relevant range of health care benefits... shines in its alternative health care coverage... significantly less expensive than plans with fewer benefits."

David Cohn
Whole Earth Business Manager



Labor History Conference

Wayne State University October 24-26, 1985

Theme: The Era of the CIO

Papers, commentary: F.F. Piven; M. Piore; V. Reuther; D. Fraser; M. Dubofsky; S. Fine; D. Nelson; N. Lichtenstein; J. Slaughter; W. Van Tine; H. Hill; J. Herling; K. Stone; G. Gerstle; J. Freeman; and more.

To Register: \$10.00 (students & unemployed exempt) to R. Zieger, History, Wayne State University, Detroit, MI 48202.
Info: Same address; (313) 577-2525.

Sessions on: State of the labor movement; Communists & CIO; CIO & Black Workers; Women of the CIO; NLRB 50 years after: CIO & the Cold War; CIO in Canada; much more.



COOPERATIVE TRADING presents this gourmet quality coffee . . . JUST BLEND

Pure Arabica coffees from Nicaragua (30%), Tanzania (30%) and Angola (40%).

*Drip/regular grind in recycleable foil "pillow packs" for freshness
Enough for 10-12 cups of rich flavor
Continental roast - a bit darker than most American blends
60 packets (10.5 lbs.) to a case

SPECIAL WHOLESALE PRICE - \$36.42 case plus \$7.25 shipping and handling.

IN STOCK NOW!

Also write for book, craft and food catalogs.

HERE'S A CHANCE TO MIX GOOD TASTE WITH GOOD POLITICS . . .

COOPERATIVE TRADING, Importer

611 West Wayne Street
Fort Wayne, Indiana 46802
Phone: (219) 422-1650

ENJOY...ORDER TODAY!



By Michael Calabrese

PORT ELIZABETH, SOUTH AFRICA

AS EASY AS IT IS FOR AMERICANS to see apartheid in terms of black and white, wrong and right, Western journalists visiting South Africa frequently comment on the mind-numbing complexities and harsh realities of a situation that may forever defy a coherent explanation, let alone a peaceful or truly just solution.

White repression and black division make it difficult to assess the true strength and credibility of the various factions claiming to oppose apartheid. Complicating the lack of a unified black leadership are other ironies and contradictions that jumble into a collage that is taking the shape of a tragic stalemate.

The exiled African National Congress (ANC) appears to have overwhelming black support, yet no chance of winning a guerrilla war against the government. The rapidly growing black trade union movement must at some point play a key role if the regime is to be overthrown, but for now its leaders appear to stay out of politics to consolidate their gains. Young ANC and union leaders press ahead with a 75-year-old struggle dedicated to achieving democracy via one-person-one-vote, except that now many hope to establish a one-party state and "scientific socialism." And the two major coalitions of black resistance groups are locked in a divisive and often bloody feud, yet it appears that a "third force"—either the police or right-wing death squads operating with official cooperation—is using black division as a cover to eliminate key community leaders (see *In These Times*, Aug. 7).

Whites seem similarly divided and unsure what to do: South Africa's ruling National Party is caught between policies of reform and repression, prevented from going all the way with either by the conflicting constraints of international sanctions and a restless right wing.

Big business, playing the role of an "enlightened capital," appears willing to sacrifice political power to preserve economic control. Leading capitalists urge Afrikaner nationalists to reform their way from apartheid to power-sharing, yet they shut down the nation's leading newspaper critical of apartheid and play hardball with striking black workers and boycotting consumers. The townships, which in their uniform poverty resemble the *barrios* of Central America, seethe with violence; but in nearby white cities, which in their uniform affluence resemble suburban Dallas, the minority goes about its business with little apparent fear.

Unlikely outcomes.

The harshest reality may be that although blacks outnumber whites five-to-one, they are in no position to launch either a guerrilla war or a popular uprising that could overthrow the government by force. Meanwhile the regime and its white constituency seem so convinced that majority rule would be suicidal to their privileged way of life that a capitulation or compromise satisfactory to black leaders will come only under the most extreme duress. As one ANC fighter said last year at the group's refugee center in Tanzania: "If we destroy an economic target today, an American corporation comes and repairs it tomorrow. We've learned we must destroy white men before the Boers will open their brains to our message."

But destroying enough men to seriously threaten white rule is unlikely in the near future. *Umkhonto we Sizwe*, the ANC's military wing, has trained an estimated 3,000 to 5,000 exiles in recent years, sending most back inside to organize cells, carry out sabotage missions and incite unrest aimed at rendering the townships "ungovernable" by white authority and its collaborators. But the lightly armed freedom fighters are not ready to challenge directly a war machine fortified by 85,000 uniformed troops, 45,000 police, several times that many trained reservists and a \$3 billion annual defense budget.

IN THE WORLD

A popular uprising *à la* Nicaragua or Iran is also unlikely because the black townships are physically isolated and easily sealed off. South Africa has no mountains or jungles where guerrillas could hide easily. And since 1981, with assistance from the Reagan White House, Pretoria has coerced its black-ruled but weak neighbors into agreements aimed at curbing ANC infiltration. When Botswana refused to cooperate, South Africa responded with a pre-dawn raid in June on alleged ANC safehouses and offices in Gaborone, the capital, that

power without first demonstrating their capacity to shut down South Africa's economy is what makes international sanctions a litmus test of real opposition to apartheid. Some combination of sanctions, sabotage and a coordinated withholding of black labor and consumer power will be the key to achieving majority rule without waiting for a protracted bloodbath that blacks could well lose.

South Africa's leaders talk bravely about the *laager*, self-sufficiency and their eagerness to buy out or confiscate abandoned

SOUTH AFRICA

Apartheid's violent and tragic stalemate



The lightly-armed freedom fighters are not ready to challenge directly a war machine fortified by 85,000 uniformed troops and 45,000 police.

left 15 persons dead, most of whom reportedly had no connection to the ANC.

ANC strategists admit that they must turn the townships into "survival areas" for a kind of urban hit-and-run warfare that, when combined with international sanctions, labor strikes, consumer boycotts and sabotage—all aimed at crippling the economy—will bleed the minority physically and financially. Eventually, they assume, the cost of white rule will become intolerably high.

Blacks' apparent inability to win political

foreign investment. But their paranoia about keeping American and British investment—which together account for 60 percent of foreign investment and about 70 percent of domestic banking—is revealed in daily headlines reporting even the most minor fluctuations in the U.S. political mood toward South Africa. South Africa's economy is surprisingly uncreative, shielded by subsidies and heavily dependent on Western technology, capital and markets for raw materials. Gold alone ac-

The language of apartheid

From apartheid (*separateness*) to *verkramp* (*reactionary*), white South Africans have developed a separate vocabulary to describe their unique system of racial discrimination. The following are key terms.

Internal Security Act: This is a purposely vague law that empowers the security branch to arrest anyone without warrant, charge or even without telling them what they did wrong. Section 29 provides for indefinite detention for interrogation, often involving torture, without access to an attorney; Section 28 provides for indefinite preventive detention and is used to take leaders out of circulation.

State of Emergency: This is actually a declaration of martial law. During the last emergency, in 1960, the ANC was forced to go underground and abandon their policy of nonviolence after 11,500 blacks were detained.

Black-on-Black Violence: This is the

government's term used to suggest that township violence aimed at blacks is aimless. Resistance leaders claim that most black victims not killed by the police are "collaborators" or "quislings" who help the System enforce apartheid.

The System: Blacks increasingly understand apartheid as a system of "racial capitalism." The system includes the army, police, black collaborators, big business and, increasingly, the American government.

Banning Orders: Organizations, books and people are often outlawed. Although not as bad as "house arrest," a person under a banning order cannot leave town, be quoted by the press or meet with more than one person at a time.

Listed Person: Less severe than being banned, a listed person may not belong to a political organization, be quoted or communicate with a banned person.

Influx Control: Half of South Africa's

IN THESE TIMES, AUG. 21-SEPT. 3, 1985 9
counts for half the nation's foreign exchange and it must import all of its oil.

It is questionable, however, whether sufficient international pressure will be applied so long as conservative governments rule in Washington, London and Bonn. In 1977, the Soweto riots and repression sparked a campus disinvestment movement in the U.S. and Europe. But those student activities withered once the regime had restored order and removed South Africa from the headlines.

Although the Free South Africa Movement is far more broadly-based, Ronald Reagan is undoubtedly playing the same waiting game that Jimmy Carter played during 1977-78. If the unrest churns on indefinitely and the ANC pursues its announced plan to make the townships "no-go areas" by steadily picking off white security personnel, the public can expect to hear from the White House about "the need not to negotiate with terrorists" and about "the Soviet threat to vital Western interests in southern Africa" (see story page 17).

Recent events suggest that the odds against a negotiated settlement acceptable to credible black leaders are even greater. Clergymen and other moderate black leaders advocating a peaceful solution were among the first of the more than 1,600 grassroots leaders arrested under the state of emergency that began July 21.

Rebel demands.

The ANC claims that even if the man who is far and away the most popular black leader, Nelson Mandela, is unconditionally released from prison, other preconditions apparently unacceptable to Pretoria must also be met before the ANC will consider participating in talks with the government. During a recent interview at the United Nations in New York, Johnny Makatini, the ANC's director of international affairs, told *In These Times* that the rebels "won't even begin to talk" until all political prisoners are released and the ANC and all other black organizations are allowed to return from exile and operate freely. "They must also accept in advance the principle of universal suffrage and of free and fair elections based on one-man-one-vote," Makatini said.

He also revealed that the Reagan administration has recently approached third parties about the possibility of opening direct talks with the ANC. This would represent a significant departure from earlier refusals by the administration to have any official contact with the guerrillas. The U.S. role in propping up apartheid, he said, would nevertheless exclude the U.S. from ever brokering negotiations as it did with Britain during the civil war that led to majority rule in Zimbabwe.

"We are talking about talking," Makatini said, but he added that because members of the administration have at times suggested the ANC is a "terrorist organization" and Soviet influenced, the talks

Continued on page 23

blacks live in urban areas and have few ties to the rural homelands. But because they allegedly are not citizens of South Africa they must get a permit in their passport to remain in the townships. Influx control is designed to assure a steady flow of cheap labor for white homes and industries, while keeping a reserve pool of unemployed in the barren homelands.

Black Spots: Freehold areas purchased by blacks before 1913 when the British and Afrikaners agreed to prohibit blacks from acquiring title to land outside the bantustans. Pretoria is pledged to rub black spots out of the white farm areas, using bulldozers if necessary, though there is a current suspension of forced removals because of adverse international publicity.

Laager: Afrikaner *trekboers*, like the American pioneers, would circle the wagons to fight off superior numbers of blacks armed with inferior weapons. The term now justifies Reagan's policy of "constructive engagement" on the ground that if the U.S. does not use gentle persuasion the white minority will become even more intransigent.

-M.C.

CED

Continued from page 6

dress the issues of the majority of people in its coalition traditionally." But Waters' role was to mouth what the answers used to be, so that Hayden could represent the party's future.

"I agree with Maxine in her criticism of corporations," he conceded. (Water's fiery oratory made her the crowd's clear favorite.) "But I don't believe leadership alone can change the demographic realities—the Democrats' blue-collar base is shrinking." Now, high-tech and service workers outnumber unionized industrial workers, the Sunbelt has overpowered the Frost and Rustbelts, and the most important political turf is the babyboom generation. With its traditional constituencies in decline, the Democrats must find new ones, and that means adjusting their message and image.

Hayden only sketchily laid out the program he thinks can attract these new constituencies. But he centered it on a new commitment to economic growth, with a role for government, but one that leaves plenty of room for "entrepreneurs and creative geniuses," since now we all know "a government bureaucracy won't necessarily develop solar energy." A "new social contract" between government, business, labor and consumers would insure that "no one is left to the happenstance of the free market."

Waters' program, he opined, was more appropriate to an "advocate" than a politician, and for all its honesty would be unlikely to get more than 40 percent of the vote in a national election. "And even if you could get 51 percent, I don't think that we who think that way could run the economy. And if the American people sense you can't, they won't let you get there."

That's where Hayden's political logic breaks down. If "we" don't think we can run the economy (we including the large world of left policymakers and economists

and not just CED), why be in this business at all? Granted, even nominally socialist Western governments have conceded the private sector a large role in the economy—often functioning more as capitalism's modernizers or managers than its scourge. But it's a concession made from a position of relative power, backed by a popular mandate for wider public control. Without that mandate, how do out-of-power Democrats get the powerful private sector to agree to a "new social contract" that concedes government a major economic role?

Strolling the placid Mount St. Mary's campus between workshops, Hayden answered these and other questions. Where did he see the visionary corporate leaders who might join a partnership with government and labor? Not in the high-tech wonderland of Silicon Valley, he acknowledged, where the "entrepreneurial genius" he admires has also produced toxic waste scandals, accelerating manufacturing-job flight and a computer industry recession. "No, they're in it for the fast buck, too—you've had a whole boom-bust cycle there in just seven years," Hayden said.

Then why plead incompetence about running the economy, when the people in charge are clearly doing such a lousy job?

"It's a posture I prefer to be in, an approach," he responded. "What does being anti-business get you? I'd rather be positive, say to business, 'There will come a time when you'll need government assistance—why not become socially responsible now?' Then they have to choose to say no, they're not interested."

CED's "shining jewel."

The strengths and limits of CED's new posture are best observed at its San Jose office, opened early this year. Nicholl calls it the "shining jewel" of the organization. It boasts a strong canvass operation—minimally paid workers go door to door talking CED's issues and seeking new members. It's headed by Barbara Perzigian, whose work organizing support for expanded childcare in the area has provided CED easy

entree into the community. One of her first speaking invitations, Perzigian recalls, came from businessmen in the Optimists Club who were concerned about the local day-care shortage.

"It's an issue that brings together a lot of people you'd never expect CED to work with," Perzigian notes. And it politicizes many of them. "Parents have thought childcare was their own cross to bear—they never dreamed it could be a social issue."

But the issue of toxics has proven more divisive. The local chapter has always wanted CED active on the issue, but leadership has been ambivalent. There's already the high-profile Silicon Valley Toxics Coalition, and working with it can be problematic, partly because coalition leaders often want to be more critical of corporate irresponsibility than CED does.

Blunting its economic analysis seems to constrain CED in San Jose generally. Nicholl admits that the organization would like to come up with an economic agenda for the area, but has yet to develop one. I suggested that the combination of toxic hazards, increasing layoffs, industry boom-bust tensions and the pressures of city overdevelopment have caused a lot of casualties in San Jose, and might make it fertile ground for some "economic democracy."

"But what's your goal?" he asked. "Just to point out failures and make people realize the system's all screwed up?" (CED leaders always think everyone else on the left would rather chant slogans than accomplish anything.)

How about building a constituency to elect politicians who'll address those failures of the system? I proposed.

Nicholl went to his file and brought out a news clip about public opposition to a conservative San Jose city councilmember's support for a plan to build condominiums on a public golf course. The issue, he suggested, could defeat the incumbent and conceivably elect a progressive to the council, because golf courses matter more to most people than abstract political and economic issues.

He anticipated my response: "You might say that's cynical?"

"A fair criticism."

If Nicholl is a cynic, he's a reluctant one. Even CED members who disagree with him credit him with trying to maintain the organization's integrity separate from Hayden's career. He admits it's a difficult balance.

"It's true that when we make our decisions we're considering factors ranging from the effect on the '88 presidential race to the desires of chapter activists, to what it will mean to Tom's career. That's a fair criticism, and it's sometimes frustrating for everyone involved. But it's built into the organization. That's why we're seeking some clarity."

For now, the consensus seems to be that CED will stress its electoral work, at the local level and within the Democratic Party, and that its issues agenda will be pursued through political campaigns and lobbying, not community organizing. "I think we're identifying our niche, and we know we can't do long term base building in neighborhoods and communities—other people do that better," says CED's Northern California Director Craig Merilees.

While Merilees acknowledges that CED's electoral niche has often made it "coldly pragmatic, which sometimes means we force complex politics into short phrases and avoid controversial issues entirely," he points to "countervailing pressure from the activist corps that continuously demands that new issues be addressed."

Executive Committee Member Anne Marie Staas thinks that countervailing force will keep CED from hurtling into traditional power politics. "I don't want to see us become only an electoral organization—too many of us can't stand it," she said. "I've been with the organization since its founding, so I'm bonded to the original concept. But I have to admit it isn't working." Still, she's probably "the last holdout" on changing the CED's name, Staas notes sadly.

CED's built-in limits make it an unreliable arbiter of what kind of left politics is possible today, in California or nationally. Its pessimistic assessment of political interest and involvement at the "grassroots" suffers from some chicken-and-egg logic: is grassroots politics impossible because activists aren't out there, or is the problem that people aren't as drawn to the politics CED represents?

"I'm not sure working with the Democratic Party is the kind of issue that really galvanizes activists," says former CED organizer Abby Haight.

Or as State Rep. Tom Bates sees it: "Now CED is more electoral than ideological, a political arm for Tom in state government," and the new role doesn't generate the enthusiasm the older approach did.

Whatever the causes, the obstacles to CED-style politics—call it grassroots, populist, progressive or left—have bred some cynicism about it, a sense that political issues don't, won't and can't matter to people the way the left has always believed they could. Hayden and Mulholland, for instance, both like to point to John Kennedy, a president with a comparatively liberal legacy who ran and was elected on a moderate-to-conservative platform. Their conclusion seems to be: do what you must to get elected, in order to do what you want when you do. Mulholland, only a little in jest, suggests CED change its name to the Campaign for a Better, Stronger America.

But that pragmatic posture has its own problems, and not just ethical ones. One anti-CED fundraising letter got a lot of attention by quoting an internal CED memo to canvassers, instructing them to "never say the S-word and you can sell it door to door"—proof that CED has stood for the S-word—socialism—all along.

It's a simplistic cheap shot—CED, for better or worse, has never equalled socialism. But it points up the perils of CED's traditional approach: when you bend your message to fit what people want to hear, you run the risk of being labelled dishonest if they find out what you really mean. And even in American politics, perceived dishonesty is a difficult handicap to overcome.

BAG IT!

IN THESE TIMES TOTE BAGS!
Perfect for toting anything—anywhere.
Show your true colors this summer—get one today.
Handy...convenient...

Only \$7.95, including postage

12" x 15"

Union made

Durable canvas bags

☐ Yes! Please send me IN THESE TIMES tote bags at only \$7.95 each.
Send check or charge ☐ VISA ☐ Master Charge
Acct No. Expiration Date
Name:
Address
City/state/zip
Mail to: Dept. A, **IN THESE TIMES**, 1300 W. Belmont, Chicago, IL 60657

By Diana Johnstone

PARIS

NUCLEAR WEAPONS PROLIFERATION may be just around the corner. The Third Review Conference of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) to be held in Geneva next month is expected to resound with complaints from the 121 countries that, by signing the 1970 treaty, agreed not to acquire or develop their own nuclear weapons, that the superpowers have done nothing to fulfill their commitment to halt their own nuclear arms race. Unending "vertical proliferation," the piling up of American and Soviet nuclear arsenals, may finally open the floodgates of "horizontal proliferation."

If this happens, the two avowed nuclear powers that have refused to sign the NPT, France and China, may become role models...or scapegoats.

In word and deed, France and China are the only countries that in the past have openly favored horizontal nuclear proliferation. In the '60s, there seemed to be a certain convergence between the Gaullist and Maoist defense of nuclear weapons as instruments of independence from the superpowers. Since then, their positions have evolved and, especially in the last couple of years, China has become much more critical of nuclear weapons than in the past.

A Chinese delegation provided the main novelty at July's European Nuclear Disarmament (END) conference in Amsterdam. Shi Zhongben, Chen Fei and Wang Jianhao of the newly formed Chinese People's Association for Peace and Disarmament explained to curious European peace activists how nuclear disarmament corresponds to the new direction taken by Chinese government policy. The Chinese people need a peaceful world environment to meet their goal of quadrupling gross national product by the end of this century, they stressed.

The Chinese now argue that the primary cause of worldwide "turbulence and instability" (which formerly they attributed to the impetuous revolutionary advance of the world's oppressed peoples) is the "escalating arms race by the two superpowers in search of hegemony." In contrast, China has recently cut back conventional forces, demobilizing a million soldiers, and claims to be converting production from military to civilian purposes.

The present Chinese interest in disarmament is a recent development. Two years ago Peking said that if the two nuclear superpowers stopped testing, developing and producing nuclear weapons and cut their nuclear arsenals in half, then China would be ready to negotiate a corresponding commitment with the other nuclear powers.

Chinese spokespersons stress that since the Chinese people are going all out for "socialist modernization," their country is a stable force for world peace. Additional motives for the peace campaign could be the desire to sweep away suspicions and objections standing in the way of Chinese participation in international nuclear power technology trade and, above all, uneasiness at the Japanese rearmament being encouraged by the Reagan administration (see cover story, *In These Times*, Aug. 7).

In contrast to the days when the expansion of "Soviet hegemonism" was singled out as number-one world threat, the Chinese have shifted to a more even-handed nonalignment, condemning both Soviet intervention in Afghanistan and American action against Nicaragua. In Amsterdam, Chen Fei said the two superpowers' military spending would in the long run have an adverse effect on their own economic welfare. But meanwhile, they are involving their allies and slowing economic development in the developed countries. Her emphasis on the importance of "South-South" as well as "North-South" development suggested that China is counting on expanding trade with Third World countries.

At a recent colloquium on "nuclear war, nuclear proliferation and their consequences," sponsored by Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan, Jiadong Qian of China empha-

sized that China was in favor of nuclear disarmament and against proliferation. In 1964, he recalled, China "unilaterally declared that at no time and under no circumstances would it be the first to use nuclear weapons. It also pledged unconditionally never to use nuclear weapons against non-nuclear states and nuclear weapon free zones. It respects and supports the establishment of nuclear weapon free zones wherever possible on the basis of the free will of the countries concerned.

Moreover, China has in recent years reiterated that it "neither advocates nor encourages nuclear proliferation and that its cooperation with other countries in the nuclear field is only for peaceful purposes."

Why then does China refuse to accede to the NPT? "The reason is simple," said Jiadong Qian. "China considers the Treaty discriminatory and as a matter of principle must be critical of it." The non-nuclear states get nothing in return for renouncing nuclear weapons besides vague promises on the part of the nuclear powers to negotiate toward ending the nuclear arms race, not even a guarantee that nuclear weapons will not be used against them.

The Chinese representative said that developing countries "wish that they could be provided with more assistance for their peaceful nuclear energy programs, but their demand has not been given serious consideration. Some people complain that the developing countries are still under the rule of a sort of colonial system—nuclear colonialism, in the present instance. In a way, this is not entirely unjustified."

It seems that the Chinese share the belief widespread in the Third World that nuclear power is a modern benefit. And the Chinese are prepared to export the technology to Third World customers, starting with Pakistan. The Chinese who attend European peace movement conferences get to hear arguments about the drawbacks of nuclear power and its fundamental link to nuclear weapons.

Jiadong Qian said China could be counted on to take corresponding action once the superpowers took the lead in meaningful disarmament. Their failure to do so was "the most serious threat" to the NPT. But should the superpowers begin the process of reversing vertical proliferation, then "the likelihood of horizontal proliferation would only diminish and not grow and countries that are considered problematic would find it all the more difficult to have any rationale to go nuclear, even if they wanted to do so."

All this adds up to a position more favorable to nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation than either China's past attitude or the current French position, expressed at the Bellerive colloquium by none other than Régis Debray, erstwhile theoretician of *The Revolution in the Revolution*.

Debray introduced himself as a "simple French citizen" who "just happens to agree" with his country's policy. Earlier this year, Debray left his post as special adviser to President Mitterrand for the State Council, a sort of supreme court. Debray fervently defended Gaullist nuclear doctrine, according to which the "equalizing power of the atom" enables the weaker nation to deter the stronger by threatening retaliatory damage greater than the gains at stake for an aggressor. In so far as this doctrine makes sense (a highly debatable assumption), it is by its nature an argument for universal nuclear proliferation.

Debray extolled nuclear technology as the essence of modernity, and nuclear deterrence as "like political democracy, the worst system except for all the others." Nuclear proliferation is less dangerous than proliferation of non-nuclear weapons, he said.

"The world map of war for the last 40 years coincides with denuclearized zones, or zones not covered by nuclear deterrence," Debray told the Bellerive colloquium. "It's a fact that the nuclear powers do not make war among themselves, and for a reason: they have 'sanctuarized' themselves," he said. "If Vietnam had the bomb in 1965 or Afghanistan in 1979, one can doubt that they would have been subjected to what they were subjected to.... Stopped in the North by deterrence, East and West shift their confrontation to the South...."

Debray claimed that the nuclear weapon is "by essence anti-militarist" because it "civilizes and intellectualizes" the possession of arms, inhibiting violence, "submitting muscle to brain," and giving all power to the civilian commander in chief.

"The nuclear weapon, the only one that cannot be shared, that no country can transfer to any other, is the ambiguous weapon of nationalism—the major force of our era—both liberating and ethnocentric, democratic and anarchic, able to stabilize a regional order while destabilizing world order," Debray said.

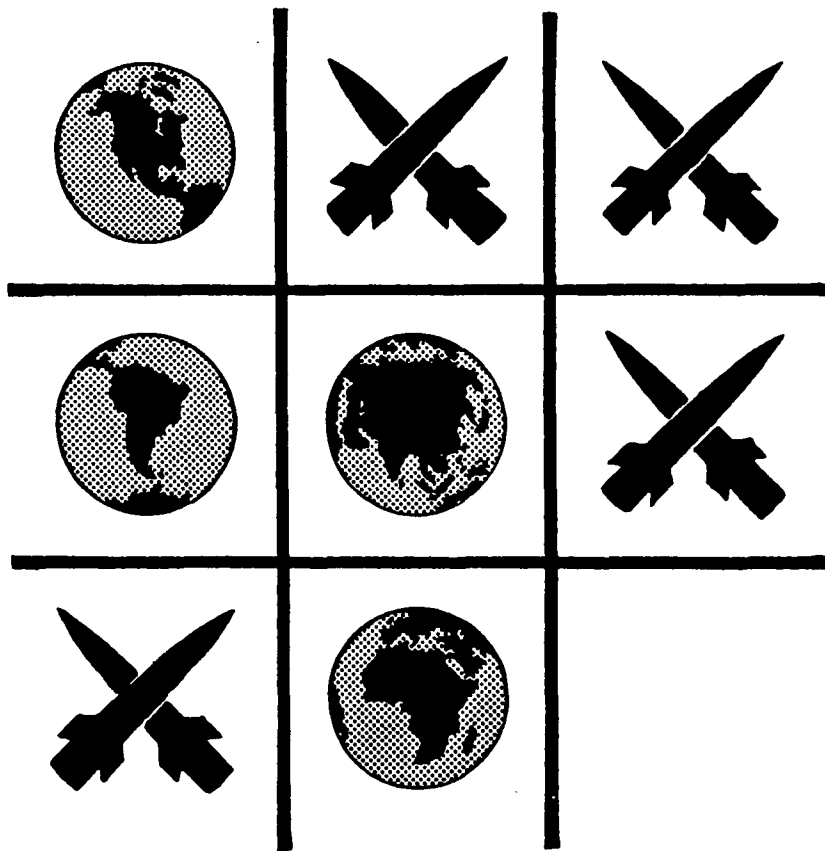
"The atom has not killed anyone since Hiroshima. The most frightful death machine functions in reverse as an arm of peace," Debray went on. "If the pacifist movement were consistent, shouldn't it be converted into a vast pro-nuclear move-

ment? With for slogans: 'To save peace, save the bomb,' 'To each his bomb, but each at home'? You can't both make war against war and ban the bomb that bans war."

Yet for all his rigorous French Cartesian logic, Debray stopped short of drawing the conclusion that what is good for France is good for everyone. "Horizontal proliferation, especially in the Third World, would set off fresh vertical proliferation, notably the race...for antiballistic defensive weapons, always harmful to deterrence. By contributing to banalize nuclear weapons, it could lower the threshold of use in the short range, and it would become politically difficult for certain industrial countries who have renounced nuclear weapons...like Germany and Japan, or...Sweden and Italy, not to join the pack." Besides: "Taking into account population and the unequal value attached to human life, stronger religious impulses and repulsions, the notorious weakness of civilian authorities, the lesser technical and political safety of chains of command, it is neither neo-colonialism nor arrogance to infer from all these factors that military use of nuclear power is riskier in the Third World than in the big industrial countries."

The French position is thus that nuclear weapons are a great boon to humanity, but that only elite nations are fit to have them. Speaking at Bellerive, Professor Joseph Rotblat of London University proceeded from the opposite premise, that the possession of nuclear weapons decreases rather than increases the security of a nation. "The nuclear-weapon states, far from being privileged, are in fact victims of their own folly: they become entangled in a web of their own making from which they are unable to extricate themselves." He called for a campaign, coinciding with the Third Review of the NPT, to get France and the U.K. to give up their independent deterrents. They are defended by NATO and don't need them. Rotblat suggested this as the second step, after a comprehensive test ban treaty, that non-nuclear states should demand of the others.

Despite their own misgivings about proliferation, the French feel on the defensive about it. China, like France, wants to export nuclear technology. But unlike France, China criticizes the double standard that tolerates Israeli and South African nuclear development (helped by France) and supports nuclear-free zones. The big difference is that China, after all, does not need nuclear weapons to qualify as a great power. ■



NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION

China and France: role models?

by David Moberg

GREENFIELD, IA

THERE'S A SIGN IN THE ENTRANCE-way to John and Wanda's Korner Cafe, one of the few eating places in this small county seat of rolling corn country: "We Need Parity Now, Not Charity." Scribbled beneath is the desperate comment: "Too late for parity. We need charity."

For tens of thousands of farmers throughout the Midwest, and in many other parts of the country, it is too late. Higher prices—the heart of the "parity" demand—will not save them. Rains have revived many of the fields that earlier this summer seemed threatened with another year of devastating drought, but that seemingly good news brings in its wake more bad news: expectations of a bumper crop are driving prices downward.

Farm experts and farmers alike are predicting that this will mark a fifth straight year of deep economic depression for farming. The drama from last winter—widespread foreclosure, bank and business failures, farm protests—is likely to be intensified in the months after harvest.

Meanwhile, Congress has been deliberating over a four-year renewal of the basic farm legislation that was initiated during the New Deal and has been repeatedly modified since then. With the headlines of crisis only a few months old, one might expect this legislation to address the plight of agriculture that threatens not only the directly related farm economy—elevators, implement manufacturers, rural retailers and small-town agricultural banks—but also the general economy and banking system. Yet the legislation coming out of Congress this fall will most likely worsen the agricultural economy and at best string farmers along in their current economic trough, leading more of them to financial ruin.

Although the farm bill is a complex, forbidding maze of programs, many of which are tailored to parochial interests, the heart of the bill concerns mechanisms for maintaining a floor beneath the price of certain basic commodities, such as wheat, corn, rice and cotton, and for supplementing depressed farm income.

Congress has been considering essentially three major approaches, although each has many arcane permutations. The first, proposed by the Reagan administration, would speedily phase out all farm price support and income supplements in favor of a "free market" approach to agriculture. Experts generally acknowledged that this would lead to plummeting prices and greatly accelerated farm failure and financial catastrophe. But its defenders said that such a "shake-out" was necessary and that eventually whoever survived would prosper under a free market. As a result, even conservative organizations like the Farm Bureau favored a more gradual transition toward the same end.

The second major approach would preserve yet modify the current system. Under this plan, farmers can borrow money from the Commodity Credit Corporation, using their grain as collateral. If the price in the

market falls below the "loan rate" set by law, the farmer may turn over the grain instead of repaying the loan in full. If enough producers participate.

A second program, first instituted in 1973, offers farmers a chance to receive income supplements if they set aside and do not use a portion of their land. It sets a "target price" above the loan rate. If the crops sell for less than the target price, the federal government pays the difference between the higher of either the market price or loan rate, up to a specified limit (\$50,000 currently).

Each adjustment upward or downward of these price supports or income protections can make a world of difference. For example, in 1984, the loan rate for corn was set at \$2.55 a bushel and the target price at \$3.03. According to the U.S. Department of Agriculture, the total cost of production averaged around \$2.71 per bushel, although critics point out that this figure does not include long-term costs of soil erosion. Also, a Minnesota study claimed that total costs came close to \$4.22 per bushel. Thus many farmers lost money on each bushel raised. Also, since the average cash price received by farmers was \$2.65 per bushel, corn was sold to overseas buyers for less than it cost to produce. Without the loan rate as a floor, prices would have been far lower. Several studies have estimated that under Reagan's original plan corn prices would fall to around \$2.00 a bushel.

The third major, "populist" alternative was in large part the product of the new farm movement, although its roots are in the original New Deal ideas. Over the past year many leaders of the emerging state and local farm groups, like organic dairy farmer Dixon Terry who lives a few miles northeast of Greenfield, have worked with a few political figures—such as Sen. Tom Harkin (D-IA) and Texas Commissioner of Agriculture Jim Hightower—to draft the Farm Policy Reform Act.

It has received backing from many labor groups as well as farm organizations such as the American Agricultural Movement. The act would conduct a referendum of producers of different commodities to determine if they want to require all producers of corn, for example, to take out of production a certain portion of their cropland. The set-aside would be determined so that prices would be raised sharply in the marketplace (starting with a figure that they say roughly represents the average cost of production and is thus well above the going market price). Farmers would be issued marketing certificates entitling them to sell a quantity of grain or other commodities that reflects their eligible acres and the historic yield of their land. With higher prices, there would be no need for income supplements—or "charity"—and the cost of the farm programs to the government would plummet dramatically.

The first and third alternatives—from Reagan and the farm movement—represent striking polar opposites: low prices and no government regulation of price or production versus high prices and mandatory government regulation of production. The current program represents a hodge-podge at-

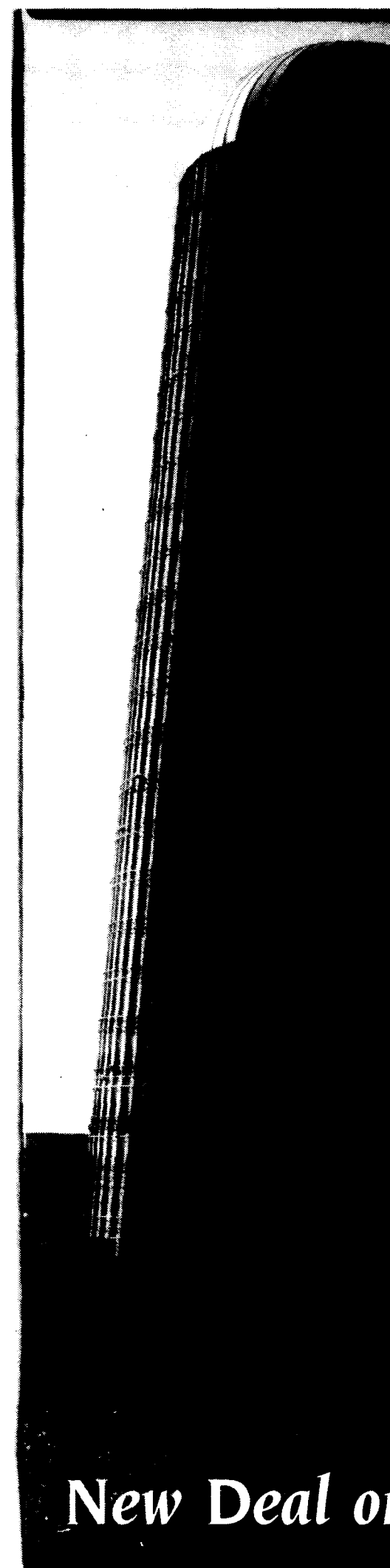
tempt at some compromise that rarely satisfies anyone very much and is now often viewed as simply a bridge to eventual "free market" agriculture.

Drafting a bill to cover the conditions of such a large and varied part of the economy as agriculture is never easy. But new pressures at work make it even more difficult today. In the '30s farmers were fairly similar throughout the country: they were small family farm producers who were making next to nothing and had been living well below urban standards even before the Depression. The original farm legislation was intended not only to bring them out of depression but to bring their incomes closer to "parity" with urban industrial workers. The standard taken was the period of 1914-1918, the last period of relative prosperity on the farm. Through price supports and production controls, the federal government sought to control chronic overproduction and depression of prices.

The agricultural economy faces some special problems that justify its separate treatment: it is extremely subject to vagaries of weather; demand changes little in response to price (so a slight increase in production can drive down prices disproportionately); and agricultural production of crops or livestock requires long-term, inflexible schedules (the farmer can't cut back on the wheat crop in mid-summer the way a factory manager can lay off workers). Yet farm policy has also always been guided at least in theory by two other considerations: that the country has a stake in, first, a social policy that supports widespread ownership and worker-owner control of production and, second, in the conservation of land as a resource of irreplaceable value for future generations.

But in the past 50 years farming has lost much of its independent, self-reliant character and become enmeshed in the web of agribusiness. Farmers themselves are divided among a large number of marginal farmers who make most of their income from non-farm sources, a tiny number of superfarms (typified by California produce fields and Texas ranches) and roughly 600,000 moderate-sized "family farms" that rely heavily—and now with little success—on their farms for income. Those in even the lower ranges of this middle category tend to be as technically efficient as any of their bigger neighbors, but they are more economically vulnerable. Bigger farms often get breaks on credit, on buying supplies in bulk and in marketing, and they usually have more resources to weather the storm. They can more profitably exploit tax breaks. Even within this range of medium to huge commercial farms, farmers often have quite disparate interests.

Yet even if farmers were less differentiated, farm policy would have become more complex. Farm programs always have reflected regional coalitions, with aid for peanut farmers winning Southern votes and wheat aid bringing along the Great Plains. Increasingly the most influential lobbyists are not just old-line general farm groups—from the agribusiness-dominated Farm Bureau to liberal National Union or National Farmers Organization. There are also



New Deal or

Debat

the specialized commodity groups (such as the National Corn Growers), big grain traders (like Cargill, which is also a super-farmer and food processor), suppliers of farm equipment, fertilizer and other "inputs" and the big commercial users of food products. This year, then, a representative of Pizza Hut or Burger King, looking for the lowest possible price for farm-produced raw materials, could be seen alongside a lobbyist for the American Agricultural Movement, looking for the highest price.

Despite the family farm rhetoric, farm legislation has increasingly abandoned its social goals of maintaining widespread owner-operated farming. The cost of farm programs has increased dramatically in recent years as a result of low market prices, and budget concerns have become as important as effects on farmers. This year with record deficits, the budget pressures



Raw Deal:

ing Farm Policy

may prove decisive when Congress takes up the farm bill debate in September.

Other pressures also come into play. Soil conservation, an increasingly urgent problem, has become popular once again, but largely as a backdoor way of cutting back on the vast overexpansion of cropland in recent years, much of it stimulated by destructive tax breaks. At least some farmers and advocates of the poor see a common interest in strengthened food stamp and nutrition programs, but the deficit—the Reagan battering ram to attack government programs—will hold those in check.

Far more important are the 1986 elections in Midwest and Plains farm states where Republicans fear an insensitivity to farmers—as evidenced in the Reagan plans—may doom their chances. Yet Democrats are not making the most of their opportunity. Some share Republican conservatism.

Others may note pessimistically how even deeply traumatized farm states voted for Reagan last fall. (Harkin, however, won in Iowa, where Reagan's thin margin of victory has collapsed as less than a quarter of Iowans now approve of his performance.)

Yet one of the greatest quandries is a relatively new element in the complex farm equation: exports. Starting in the early '70s, government policy shifted toward encouragement of agricultural exports as a way of compensating for the poor performance of U.S. industry, of absorbing growing productivity of U.S. agriculture and, in theory, of boosting farm income.

Part of the strategy worked. "Since 1970, U.S. farm exports—mainly grains—have tripled in volume and risen more than sixfold in value, to an astonishing \$44 billion in 1981," wrote James Wessel in *Trading the Future*, one of the best guides to current

agricultural problems available.

"By 1980 over half of cash crop receipts came from sales abroad, and over one-third of harvested acreage was exported," he wrote. Although this helps to compensate for our trade deficit, the contribution is much less than usually thought. As Wessel notes, "U.S. farmers spend the equivalent of 40 cents worth of imported oil to produce each dollar's worth of farm exports."

Boom and bust.

The boom paid off in 1973, the year of the first big Russian wheat deal, and again in 1979. But in general real net income per farm has not increased. Farmers have pushed themselves to expand production to compensate for falling prices, thus expanding their cash flow, if not their final rewards. Along with tax policies that encouraged non-farmer land speculation, the ex-

Photograph by Paul Constock

port boom fed the tripling of farmland prices and quadrupling of debt as farmers borrowed against their expanding paper value.

That illusory wealth has now collapsed and vanished. The export brought instability, a growing cost-price squeeze and collapse. There was a pot of gold only for the grain traders, those who already owned land and sold it, and food processors (as well as, for a short time, farm suppliers). Yet as farm income stagnated or dropped in recent years, food prices continued to climb only slightly less than inflation in general.

Contrary to most people's belief, including farmers', the bounteous U.S. harvest sold on the world market has not gone as much to feed a starving world of poor people as it has to fatten livestock, mainly benefiting the world's middle class. Indeed, the glut of U.S. grain has driven down world market prices, undermining the incomes of peasants and farmers in much of the world and putting increasing strain on governments, such as those in Europe, that subsidize their farmers' incomes.

U.S. food exports—even those offered under a humanitarian banner—have often undermined development. They have also been the flip side of U.S.-backed development policies that emphasize Third World commercial agriculture for export, leaving poor countries vulnerable to world commodity market fluctuations and unable to produce staple foods for their own population. Ironically, now the great U.S. Midwestern breadbasket shares some of those same "neocolonial" agonies, including a shift toward ecologically unsound monoculture (instead of diversified agriculture) as well as increasing concentration of landholding, growing tenancy and a reversal of the land reform slogan so often urged on Third World countries—"land to the tiller."

With visions of starving Ethiopians etched in our minds, it is understandable that we should see American grain surpluses as a needed boon. But the world does not lack adequate food supplies. The problem is agriculture in some countries is not self-sufficient, and wealth is so unequally distributed that the needy can't afford to buy what's available.

As William A. Galston wrote in a study of 1985 farm bill issues for the Roosevelt Center titled *A Tough Row to Hoe*, "The key problems are not so much overall food supplies as poverty and dependence. The long-term solution lies, not in the U.S. feeding more and more people, but in helping other nations increase their purchasing power and produce more of their own food."

In recent years the number of exporters and the world surplus stocks have increased so that Council on Foreign Affairs fellow Barbara Insel recently wrote in *Foreign Affairs* on the problem of "a world awash in grain." The U.S., which exports half or more of all internationally traded grain, holds a growing portion of that surplus. The Soviet Union accounts for nearly one-quarter of all grain purchases.

In the past few years, U.S. exports have slipped, partly because the overvalued dollar has made U.S. grain less competitive

Continued on following page

Continued from previous page
with Argentina, Canada, Australia, South Africa, Thailand and Western Europe, the other major exporters, many of whom nearly match U.S. technological capabilities but have lower land and labor costs. Despite the protests about other countries subsidizing their exports, Insel reports that the U.S. is now "the principal source of subsidized agricultural export credits."

Other exporters, some of which like Argentina or Brazil need to sell their agricultural products at any price to obtain desperately needed hard currency to service debts to the U.S. banks, tend to take U.S. prices as a benchmark, setting their prices a little below in order to get a share of the market. Traditionally, economists have argued that falling prices will not increase grain sales much (nor will rising prices cut sales drastically). But some argue that the market is now more price-sensitive, which seems plausible to the extent that the grain goes into essentially luxury meat production.

But if increasing exports means sales below the cost of production and more erosion and depletion of the soil, the U.S. is essentially exporting its capital. The hills around Greenfield, Iowa, are losing soil rapidly as they are converted from pasture to corn, because farmers are under pressure to extract every possible penny to cover debt payments. The area's future is being sold for cheap, not even bringing a profit for present producers. Yet there is a widespread conviction in Washington and elsewhere that exports, even at lower prices, are the solution to the nation's farm problems.

"Exports are the problem, not the solution," argues Marty Strange, director of the Center for Rural Affairs in Walthill, Neb. The lure of exports led to expensive and environmentally damaging center-pivot irrigation and plowing of Nebraska rangeland in the '70s. That generated the land price boom, and the eventual bust, with bankruptcy and bank failure in its wake. Most of that corn went to feed Japanese livestock.

"We just tied our whole economy of Nebraska to the Japanese commercial export market," Strange said. "Now the relative value of the yen to the dollar is probably the most important factor in our political economy. Our economy used to be tied to red beef and pork markets—and the autoworker in Detroit. Now the big factor is whether the Japanese are selling cars in this country."

Even in the short term, not counting either the instability of the agricultural economy or the ecological and social harm from export dependency, expanded exports offer no solution. A study by the Food and Agricultural Policy Research Institute (FAPRI) at the Universities of Iowa and Missouri estimated that the Reagan plan of cutting prices would increase export volume only slightly but would actually lower the value of exports, thus deepening the farm crisis. Raising prices to a level somewhat above that mandated in the Farm Policy Reform Act, introduced in Congress by Sen. Harkin and Rep. Bill Alexander (D-AR), would cut the volume of exports by 15 percent but would boost the dollar value by 50 percent above current policies.

Despite this evidence, the farm legislation written this year has been hostage to the notion of increasing exports, even if it means hurting important trading partners and American farmers. Everyone wants to be "market-oriented," this year's triumphant buzzword. Even the Farm Policy Reform Act, with its supply management and planned prices, is touted as "market-oriented," since farmers will receive their supplemented income from a partially planned marketplace rather than from government checks.

The free market has always been a problem for farming because of classic problems: weather, inelastic demand and little control over the time of marketing. It is even more so today. Farmers are the last highly competitive part of a food chain dominated by big business. They are "price-takers" to these corporate "price-

makers." Most suppliers of seed, fertilizer, equipment and other inputs and most purchasers and processors of agricultural raw products are giant corporations in industries that are either highly concentrated or growing more so every year.

The classic farm bill provisions do not address these problems. They also deal in only a limited way with the staggering debt problems: farmers now carry around \$221 billion in debt, and debt service in 1983 and 1984 averaged \$21 billion. In that period farm income averaged \$23 billion a year, \$19 billion of which came from farm subsidies. A drastic reduction in interest rates would improve agricultural profitability. But agricultural loan interest rates have stayed especially high—15 percent rates on operating loans are not uncommon—because banks have had to absorb so many losses and are trying to make that up. Cutting the federal deficit might lower interest rates some, but if it is done at the expense of farmers or consumers, it will be of no net benefit to farmers.

Even more important, the farm bill does not address how the tax code in recent years has helped big farmers at the expense of small producers, specialized production at the expense of diversified farming, and outside investors at the expense of farmer-producers, while stimulating overproduction that hurts everyone. Take this example: in the tax code single-purpose structures are treated as equipment, unlike other buildings, thus granting them quick depreciation. (They also benefit from special accounting procedures and investment tax credits.) As a result, in recent years there has been a vast expansion of hog confinement buildings—big enclosures where hogs are raised from birth to market in a series of pens, with feed usually delivered by mechanical conveyers and manure dropping through the floor to pits below.

Although these confinement shelters, like big cattle feedlots, offer some technical economies over the traditional arrangement of sows with their piglets living in an open field with simple shelters, they are most valuable to "tax farmers." These high-income investors, either big farmers or outsiders, by definition benefit more than farmers in a lower tax bracket. For these investors, any tax savings from special provisions is equivalent to income when compared to an alternative investment without a shelter. Thus they are willing to take lower returns in order to shelter other income. As a result, through a subsidy from other taxpayers, they overexpand production, drive down prices and squeeze small farmers out of business.

Lower corporate tax rates, capital gains exemptions and other tax breaks all depress prices, inflate land values in boom times, worsen deflation and depth of the bust in hard times when the speculative bubble bursts, and speed the concentration of ownership in agriculture. As Chuck Hassebrook, a tax expert with the Center for Rural Affairs testified before Congress, "Tax incentives have stimulated overproduction, lowering farm profits and raising farm program costs. Tax subsidies for farm enlargement and replacement of labor with capital have fostered the concentration of agriculture in fewer hands, at the expense of efficient moderate-sized and beginning farmers. Inefficient practices have been adopted to maximize tax benefits. Efficiency is thus being eclipsed by ability to exploit tax shelters as the rule of farm competition. Moderate-sized and beginning farmers whose moderate incomes and modest investments do not allow them to reap bumper crops of tax savings, are placed at a competitive disadvantage."

Although the Reagan tax proposal eliminates a few egregious policies (such as deductions for clearing and leveling woodlands, wetlands and rangelands for crop production), Hassebrook concluded that the treatment of capital gains, retention of accelerated depreciation and other features means that high-income taxpayers would continue to benefit mightily to the detriment of family farmers under the administration's tax plan. Tax breaks for the wealthy, more than any inefficiency of the smaller operator, are dooming the family farm.

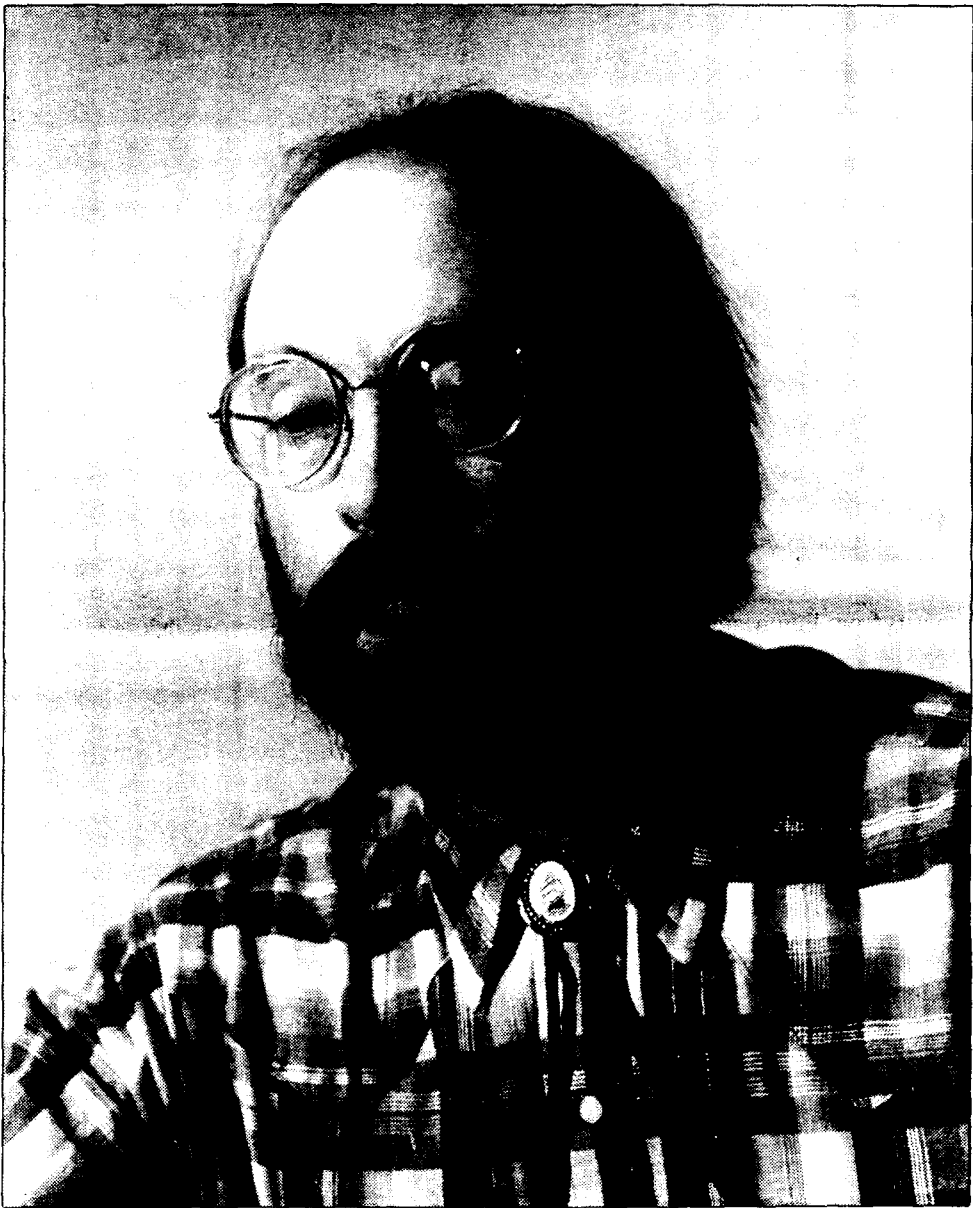
Small farm advocates and a few politicians, including Sen. James Abdnor (R-SD), have produced such changes as limiting the deduction of farm losses from non-farm income and estimating tax subsidies for confinement structures. But so far these crucial moves have received less attention than the farm bill and the level of price supports.

In both the House and the Senate, the emerging farm bills would preserve something resembling the existing basic structure for wheat and feed grains. But the loan rate would be dropped by 25 percent next year, then by up to 5 percent a year. For one year (Senate committee version) or two (House version) the target price would be frozen. Then reductions up to 5 percent a year would take place. Both Senate and House bills would permit use of a new mechanism called "marketing loans." Instead of the government keeping the collateral grain, farmers would sell it and repay the loan at the market price, even if that is lower than the "loan rate." This would not directly affect income of farmers under the program, but it would reduce government storage of commodities (cutting costs but also eliminating reserves for hard times). But if

The committee stalemate and the budget dilemma have given a new lease on life to the Farm Policy Reform Act. Twice defeated in the Senate Agriculture Committee, then rejected 24 to 17 by the full House committee after a subcommittee had approved it as an alternative, the farmer referendum on mandatory cutbacks of production and substantially higher prices seemed dead.

Yet the bill has a strong selling point. It would cut agricultural budget outlays by approximately \$8 to \$10 billion a year in the commodity programs alone, not counting savings in other programs as the farm economy regained health or new tax revenue. That makes it the only bill that meets—and actually would be under—budget goals.

Of course, it both raises farmer income and saves taxes by boosting the price paid in the market. But advocates of the bill argue that in its first year consumer food prices would increase by only about 4 percent across the board. From 1980 to 1984, while farm income and prices declined, food prices still increased by 19 percent, suggesting that the main food price problem is in processing, packaging and marketing.



Organic dairy farmer Dixon Terry has helped draft the Farm Policy Reform Act.

market prices drop drastically, as most experts expect, the cost to the government could soar. Yet it is popular because it is seen as boosting U.S. exports.

Each bill requires greater cutbacks in production for any participating farmer than under current policy (30 percent of planted wheat acres in the House version, 20 percent in the Senate). But even with such cutbacks in production and reductions in other spending provisions of the farm bill, the tentative bills face one major obstacle: the overall budget squeeze.

Before adjourning for its summer recess, Congress approved a budget resolution that calls for cuts of \$12.6 billion over three years from current levels (estimated at \$12-13 billion a year). By most estimates, that means the House bill is roughly \$10 billion over budget and the Senate bill is \$5-6 billion over their limit. But with prices now plunging in the futures market, these figures may underestimate likely costs of the programs. The consequence seems obvious: if they are to stay within their resolution, Congress will have to cut drastically the already lowered levels of farm income support, especially the target prices. Ultimately that is likely to yield a bill much closer to the administration's original proposal, which everyone recognized would bring financial disaster.

Also, as people on the average eat more meals in restaurants, their food expenditures increase to pay for the convenience, not the materials. Meat and eggs would increase most, around 10 percent, but items like bread—where the wheat in a loaf costs about four cents—would barely be affected despite big boosts for the farmer.

Since the average American pays only 16 percent of the family budget for food—well below the 25-30 percent common in other industrialized countries—consumers here would still eat comparatively cheaply. But because income is so unequally distributed in the U.S., the poor would be hurt, especially since there is no prospect of an adequate increase in food stamps or nutrition aid, let alone a more meaningful solution—reduced income inequality.

A progressive tax system supporting direct payments to farmers would distribute costs more fairly than the regressive distribution of increased food costs, but the tax system is not now very progressive. Strange argues that direct payments make farm programs more publicly accountable, but the record—with continued maldistribution of benefits to big farmers—is not very impressive. In any case, bankrupting the family farmer to try to keep food costs low not

only is wrongheaded as policy but ultimately ineffective. Indeed, several of the most liberal black Congress members, such as Reps. John Conyers (D-MI) and Charles Hayes (D-IL), have supported mandatory supply controls and higher prices in part because they see the strategy as a stimulus to the economy and a way of creating more jobs.

Farm movement organizers have mapped a campaign of intensified pressure on legislators during the August recess to revive the referendum and mandatory control of production. They face two big obstacles: ideology and the obsession with foreign sales.

Faith in free enterprise.

Jerry Purdy is a young farmer near Greenfield who heads the local Farm Bureau. Despite losses of \$30,000 last year on his 780 rented acres, Purdy clings to the Farm Bureau free-market approach for essentially philosophical reasons. "The idea of maybe having a control over what we get for our price, that looks attractive," he said. "But to get to that point you have to make too many sacrifices—mandatory production controls, where to plant, what to plant. As a big operator, I'd be penalized. Everybody wants to see better prices, but they don't have any idea how to get them. The biggest comment I get is, 'Get the government out of agriculture.' I feel strong enough about the free enterprise system. That's the way I want to go."

But Stan Kading, another young, aggressive, large-scale farmer in the area, strongly favors the referendum and mandatory cutbacks. He sees it as offering prosperity while the Reagan plan would mean sudden death and some continuation of present plans simply slow death. "I told my wife if the Reagan program is passed, the best thing to do is line up the machinery and get out," he said.

Even if he stayed in and survived, he argued, he could do so only at the expense of his neighbors, the surrounding community and merchants, and the soil he tills. After visits from European and Asian farm movement representatives, he began to feel they were all hurting each other in the grain trade war. Besides exporting more bushels at even lower prices would mean lower total income. Even if the bill forced greater cutbacks for big producers, he would favor it. "It would hit me," he said. "But on the other hand, I'd rather have more neighbors and be smaller."

One of Kading's neighbors, Dixon Terry, a one-time university anti-war protestor, has emerged both locally and nationally as a leader in the drive for the Farm Policy Reform Act. He tackles both the conservative ideology and the "export myth" that grip many farmers and their representatives.

"The whole export orientation of the last 15 years is based on false premises," he said one evening while milking his highly rated herd of cows. "The early '70s were an aberration, and the possibility for increased exports is dim. Some countries will always undersell the U.S."

"Third World countries with debt problems and need for foreign exchange are under great pressure to undercut us," he argued. "We need to readjust our production to realize we can't keep increasing our exports. It's not a panacea. We could export cars for less than the cost of production and sell lots, but it's senseless. The only long-term solution is negotiation of multilateral agreements on world export shares and a floor price."

"They call [what we have now] a cheap food policy, but it's a cheap raw materials policy, a cheap agriculture policy," he added. "We either implement an equitable food system policy, which brings a fair return to the farmer, or else have corporate concentration."

Although the immediate threat in much of Iowa is simply growing concentration in the hands of rich farmers or family corporations, the corporate impact is greater than suggested by figures on land ownership. Corporate feedlots have driven balanced cattle and feed crop agriculture out of much of Iowa in just a few years, and many re-

maining farmers operate as contractors, not independent entrepreneurs. Market conditions altered by corporate influence squeeze family farmers.

For organic farmer Terry, the growing corporate dominance is a threat to ecological sanity. "Nobody can take care of a farm like a family farmer," he said. "The corporate farmer oriented to short-run profit could let the soil run down the river." If not protected from the ravages of the market and the pressures of tenancy, the same can happen even with family farmers.

The ideological battle is tough. Over several decades, farmers have been sold—and many have readily bought—the idea that farming is just another business, not a way of life or stewardship of a precious resource. In recent years government farm programs have been chaotic and ineffective, feeding anti-government sentiment. The prevailing influences of the Farm Bureau, politicians and farm commentators have reinforced a strong private enterprise mentality at odds with the populism, cooperation and New Deal sensibility that once was strong among farmers. But the current crisis, while moving only a small fraction of farmers to join protest movements, has shaken the faith of many.

"Some farmers are leery of the amount of regulation in our program," Terry acknowledged. "It scares them. But when they see the alternative is losing the family farm system, they say they're willing to accept supply management for the price. So it's moved to the level of ideological debate. Farmers are confronting what the free market means and see that government is not necessarily the biggest threat to agriculture and could be used to help them. They are shifting from government as enemy to corporations and corporate agribusiness as the biggest threat."

"Let's face it," Terry added, "this kind of farm legislation is a form of central planning that can work."

Despite changes in many farmers' thinking, agribusiness, exports and the free market ideology dominate Congress, tempered only by a political awareness that ensuing farm economic disaster could mean political disaster for incumbents. Yet many Democrats don't see even this crass opportunity, let alone a responsibility to farmers.

"For us as a party to support a bill that would lower farm income is an outright refusal to run on issues and to help people in distress," laments Rep. Lane Evans (D-IL), an early sponsor of the Farm Policy Reform Act. "I just don't understand it." Although Evans thinks that the House committee may approve the referendum on mandatory controls in September, there seems little hope for it in the Senate.

The referendum does make the bill politically more palatable. Farmers have to approve the system, and if they refuse it, the damage wreaked by reduced prices will be seen—with some justification—as of their own making. Every farm program, even Reagan's, has gesture toward supply control. And most of that is under the guise of conservation.

The Senate bill is even tougher than the House version, providing for elimination of direct benefits for any land in the most fragile categories, and eventually even for any farmer cultivating such land. But the voluntary programs that have been—and continue to be—part of the loan rate and target price system are widely seen as ineffective and costly. Many farmers attempt to take advantage of the cutbacks that others make, which undermines the market price and pushes up the cost of the program to the federal government. Only a mandatory supply control system is likely to be effective.

The Farm Policy Reform Act may be the best farm legislation before Congress and the only bill likely to address farming's economic crisis. But it has its problems, too. To begin with, it does not deal adequately with the issues of size and structure of farming. The original proposal provided for larger production cutbacks for farmers with gross incomes of \$200,000 a year or more. It was a crude and not wholly satisfactory method of targeting—that is, giving more benefit to smaller farmers. A

sliding scale, like a variation on a progressive income tax formula, might have been better. But in the version that passed the House subcommittee, that progressive feature was dropped in order to win votes from some Great Plains representatives.

Some farm movement leaders justify the lack of more strictly scaled benefits. Merle Hansen, president of the North American Farm Alliance, argues that farmers as a whole have been historically shortchanged and that higher prices are a matter of social justice. He compares it to passage of the Equal Rights Amendment, which is a matter of justice even if some wealthier women benefit. Kentucky farm movement leader Hal Hamilton is more direct: to get money to the little fish, you've got to feed the big fish, too.

But what if the big fish are sharks? David Senter, Washington representative of the American Agricultural Movement, a major backer of the Farm Policy Reform Act, argues, "I do not agree that higher prices will make certain ones get rich and buy out his neighbors." Like Hansen and other movement representatives, he argues that the tax laws must be changed to address the structure of agriculture, especially by eliminating tax shelters and assuring progressive taxation.

Parity and politics.

There is a more fundamental, if related issue. The Farm Policy Reform Act sets the price for next year at 70 percent of parity. (Thus the price for corn would be \$3.60 a bushel compared to \$2.63 last spring or an estimated \$2.10 under Reagan's original proposal. The price for wheat would be \$4.95 a bushel, compared with \$3.33 in the spring and \$2.60 with Reagan's steps toward a "free market.")

The act would then ratchet prices upward gradually to 90 percent of parity. Parity is the index that compares farm income to farm costs, based on that pre-World War I balance between the agricultural and non-agricultural sectors. Recently it has been at record low levels, even below those of the Great Depression. Parity—the demand to keep income up with those costs—has long been the rallying cry of the more militant farm groups.

But the parity index has been revised over the years only to reflect changes in various costs of agriculture. It has not been revised to reflect the enormous gains in productivity that have generally outstripped the non-agricultural sector. Certainly farm prices should in some way keep up with costs, but the benefits of productivity increases should presumably be shared throughout society—not captured solely by the few remaining farmers nor, of course, captured mainly by processors and suppliers, as is now the case.

One of the biggest costs to farmers is land, which is one of the costs calculated in the parity index. A parity pricing system is thus vulnerable to an upward spiral in which land prices are bid up as farming becomes more profitable and as income is capitalized in land. But, by definition, that in turn raises costs, generating more price increases. If the prices of products are taken out of a free market, the market in land must also be regulated.

Although parity advocates compare it to minimum wage legislation, there is a big difference that reflects the special character of small producers like the family farmer. "Farmers are not just workers," Marty Strange says. "They're owners, capitalists, too. When you guarantee a return on investment, they'll buy more. There is a limited amount of land, and to get more they'll pay more." Protection of income against price increases and guarantee of reasonable income for one's labor are both socially justified. But are farmers, unlike other small-scale capitalists, to be guaranteed a return on capital as well?

Strange and other farm advocates often suggest another standard: guaranteeing prices at the cost of production. That is certainly a minimal farm support program, not one that will in itself bring prosperity. Farm Policy Reform Act supporters argue that 70 percent of parity is close to the current costs of production. (Strange thinks

IN THESE TIMES AUG. 21-SEPT. 3, 1985 15
it may be a little higher than typical costs of production in good years.)

But the costs themselves must be analyzed. What the farm movement has not yet done adequately is a necessary yet extremely difficult task: attack the rising costs of production that are associated with concentration of economic power among agricultural suppliers and costs that stem from pressures to grow larger or more chemically intensive. Likewise, if they are to win consumers as allies and serve their interests, they must address the practices and the profitable concentration of the whole food processing and delivery system.

Strange has a draft proposal that would expand the planning implicit in the Farm Policy Reform Act. The government would calculate national food and fiber needs and would requisition from each farm a certain quantity of "standard production units" (the volume of a crop that can be produced with a fixed quantity of economic resources, such as the equivalent of producing a bushel of corn). The requisition would reflect the "agronomic potential" of the land, discouraging misuse of land. Farmers could deliver any of a variety of crops, receiving a premium in addition to the market price. The amount of premium would be strictly limited, but farmers would be encouraged to shift production to crops not in oversupply.

Despite its technical merit, Strange's proposal is sufficiently complex that it is unlikely to muster much political support in the near future. But setting higher prices—the heart of the Farm Policy Reform Act—has an immediate gut appeal and reflects what many farmers themselves are demanding. Politically, it has proven potent in breaking through deeply entrenched conservative thinking among many farmers.

Higher prices, necessary as they are, are not enough, however, even with mandatory supply control. Not only were the progressive allocation features of the Farm Policy Reform Act dropped, but also many of its advocates—as a way to counter the worries about higher U.S. prices cutting exports excessively—support a new version of export subsidies first proposed by Agriculture Sec. John Block. This "Export-PIK" (or payment-in-kind) plan would give surplus U.S. grain to purchasing nations in order to sweeten the deal and effectively lower the price.

That continues the commodity trade wars, with all their deleterious effects on other exporters and many developing countries. Yet it is true that simply raising world market prices would in the short run hurt poor countries that must still rely on imported grains. Ultimately, the grain trade must be taken out of the hands of the big private dealers, for the sake of U.S. farmers and overseas customers. At the same time, long-term grain trade agreements must reflect a reversal of current foreign policy.

The U.S. now uses food aid to prop up friendly governments, often right-wing dictatorships, and to cultivate tastes and markets for U.S. surplus commodities. Dumping surpluses at low prices stifles the new push in much of the Third World to develop by raising the income of its peasantry rather than through ill-conceived industrialization projects. (The U.S. government, says Merle Hansen, has criticized Nicaragua for trying to raise its agricultural prices, for example.)

Higher prices domestically could defuse the growing farm movement by providing necessary relief. But success with this "populist" farm bill may also provide the basis for building a new and stronger movement that will take on the other great tasks of reforming the food and farm system of the U.S. On the other hand, failure to enact this legislation will lead to greater economic despair, farm bankruptcy and bank failures, general economic stagnation and the increased concentration of control over the food supply at the ultimate expense of both farmers and consumers.

Yet Congress, as it returns this fall, seems prepared in the face of massive evidence and clear warnings to take decisive steps toward precisely that destruction of American agriculture. ■

PERSPECTIVES

BBC censorship nothing new

By Dilip Hiro

LONDON

THE BRITISH LOVE TO FEEL self-congratulatory. And when a crisis is resolved through compromise, it provides everyone involved the opportunity to feel that way. Take the recent controversy about the censoring of the British Broadcasting Corporation's (BBC) documentary on extremism in Northern Ireland titled *At the Edge of the Union*. All four principal parties to the dispute—the government, the board of BBC governors, the director-general of the BBC and BBC journalists—found something of which to be proud.

On July 29 Home Minister Leon Brittan "requested" Stuart Young, chairman of BBC governors, to ban the film. The next day the governors decided to "postpone" the screening that had been scheduled for August 7. Two thousand BBC journalists resolved to strike on the program's original transmission date and were joined by their colleagues in commercial radio and TV companies. In the midst of the controversy BBC Director-General Alasdair Milne returned to his post, cutting short his vacation, and announced on August 7 that he was the editor-in-chief at the BBC, and that he would broadcast the documentary in autumn. There followed a clash, in private, between Milne and Young. The final result: the film will be shown in amended form after Christmas.

By staging a 24-hour strike in all BBC departments the journalists showed their disgust at the governors' decision. They also demonstrated to the 30 million audience at home and 125 abroad that the BBC's editorial independence was sacrosanct to them. The director-general appeared to believe that by threatening to resign he had recovered the editorial independence that had been usurped by the BBC governors during his absence. By so doing he won the respect not only of the corporation's 27,000 employees but also the public at large.

Although looking grumpy, Young, the BBC's chairman, knew that in the end the governors' view had prevailed: an amended version would be screened five months later. Despite the damage he had done to the BBC's credibility by his ham-handed action, the home minister could congratulate himself on having spiked the documentary for the time being without earning himself the odium of banning it—something he is empowered to do.

Even more, the home minister created an environment in which the showing of a BBC television documentary on "Supergrasses" (i.e., police informers) in Northern Ireland was shelved, and the scheduled appearance of Gerry Adams, the Sinn Féin member of Parliament, was cancelled by the BBC in Scotland.

Though the most publicized, the latest episode is only the last in a long series of British government tinkering with information and discussion on Northern Ireland over the past quarter century. Since 1959 as many as 48 programs on Northern Ireland by the BBC or Independent Television Companies have been banned, censored, delayed or otherwise doctored. The following are some examples:

- 1966: "This Week," BBC-TV's current affairs program, critical of Rev. Ian Paisley, the militant Protestant leader, was stopped;

- 1970: Jim Allen's play about Northern Ireland for BBC-TV was banned;

- 1972: *Aftermath of Bloody Sunday*, a program by BBC-TV's "This Week," excised certain interviews after the killing by British security forces of 13 residents of Bogside in Derry;

- 1976: a BBC play about torture in Northern Ireland was produced, but denied a screening;

- 1978: two BBC documentaries were put on the shelf by the management;

- 1981: *The Propaganda War*, a documentary, was withdrawn by Granada TV when ordered by Independent Broadcasting Authority to make certain cuts; and

- 1983: a documentary on Northern Ireland by Yorkshire TV was stopped during production.

Commercial radio and television are overseen by Independent Broadcasting Authority and the BBC by the home ministry, which also determines the annual license fee for the BBC. The BBC cannot accept advertising. The 12 BBC governors (with a five-year tenure) are appointed by the government. Since all the present governors are Margaret Thatcher's appointees, the board is predominantly conservative and pro-establishment.

Soon after Thatcher came to power in May 1979, she clashed with the BBC when "Panorama," BBC-TV's current affairs program, filmed an Irish Republican Army march in a Northern Ireland village. The footage was not shown. A guideline was issued to the BBC stating: "Interviews with individuals who are deemed by the assistant director-general [of the BBC] to be closely associated with a terrorist or-

ganization may not be sought or transmitted—two separate stages—without prior permission of the director-general."

Originally titled *Elected Representatives*, the controversial documentary deals with two Derry politicians: Martin McGuinness, 35, a Sinn Féin leader, and Gregory Campbell, 32, a Democratic Unionist Party leader. Since both political parties are legal, and since both men are elected representatives of Derry to the Northern Ireland Assembly, the BBC's senior management concluded that the guidelines about terrorists did not apply to McGuinness and Campbell. Both of them are familiar faces/voices on BBC television and radio in Northern Ireland. As recently as June 28, McGuinness was invited to the opening ceremony of the BBC's Radio Foyle building in Derry. He did not go.

In the 45-minute long documentary the strongest statement by McGuinness is: "At the end of the day it will be the cutting edge of the IRA that will bring freedom [to Ireland]." And the strongest statement by Campbell is: "You [will] either be killed by the IRA or kill them, and I want to see them dead."

The film establishes similarities between the two men: working class, teetotaler, married with small children, churchgoers and living in fear of assassi-

no reporter intervening between the subject and the audience. Absent, too, is the abrasive interrogation that was the hallmark of BBC-TV's profile of Gerry Adams after his election to Westminster in June 1983. In any case, aggressive interviewing is not the only way to report political terrorism or any other subject. Significantly, the TV critics who attended the preview of the documentary on July 26 found nothing controversial or unusual in it.

These facts, however, were of no consequence to Leon Brittan. "What is at issue is not the overall balance of the program, or whether its impact on reasonable people is to make such people more hostile to terrorism than they already are," wrote the home minister to the BBC chairman. "Even if the program and any surrounding material were, as a whole, to present terrorist organizations in a wholly unfavorable light, I would still ask you not to permit it to be broadcast."

Those are Brittan's words, but the thoughts are Thatchers. After the TWA hijack in Beirut in mid-June they were encapsulated in the slogan: "Starve the terrorist and the hijacker of the oxygen of publicity on which they depend." It is ludicrous to draw parallels between a well-conceived documentary on the troubles in Northern Ireland—a British problem of the past many decades—with the "hijacked cameras" of the terrorists in Beirut.

While inducing censorship by pressuring the BBC governors, Brittan insisted

Since 1959, as many as 48 programs on Northern Ireland by the BBC or Independent Television Companies have been banned, censored, delayed or otherwise doctored.

nation. It then explores their domestic and political lifestyles and their belief in violent solutions. Paul Hamann, the producer, is meticulously even-handed. For each interview with one politician, his wife, his admirers and the political march, he offers virtually identical coverage of the other.

Those journalists who have viewed the documentary disagree with the BBC governors' assessment that it is "morally neutral." On the contrary, the images and the editing of the political rallies are designed to underline the prevalent violent atmosphere, and thus horrify the viewers. By consistent question-begging and specious argument, the two politicians inadvertently condemn themselves and their violent approach.

But the film's tone is thoughtful, with

that his action stemmed from his role as the minister of law and order—and as an ordinary citizen "down the road"—and not as the minister responsible for broadcasting. But a poll on the documentary showed that he was hardly reacting the way the typical citizen would. Only 28 percent backed his action, whereas 40 percent said the program should have been shown "unamended," with a further 23 percent backing its transmission "with amendments."

Ironically, Thatcher and Brittan have done more to undermine the BBC's credibility than the combined efforts of its traditional detractors. Commentaries on Moscow radio and television repeatedly stressed that nobody could any longer doubt that the British government manipulated the mass media.

Beyond the immediate repercussions of the episode lie profound questions. Will the BBC now deny "the oxygen of publicity" to the *contras* who are terrorizing Nicaraguan citizens and violently attacking a democratically-elected regime in Managua? Will the BBC now be issued a governmental "guideline" to deny "the oxygen of publicity" to the African National Congress, which is openly committed to an armed struggle to overthrow the apartheid regime in South Africa?

The Thatchers and Brittans need reminding that one side's terrorists are the other side's freedom fighters. And they have only to turn to the history of the liquidation of the British empire to see that often yesterday's terrorists become tomorrow's statesmen: Jomo Kenyatta, Archbishop Makarios, Robert Mugabe... the list is long.

Dilip Hiro writes frequently on the Mideast and India.

Become a charter subscriber.

A new monthly newsletter on Soviet society by Alex Amerisov.

Soviet-American Review

To subscribe send \$23.50 for one year to:
Box S, 1300 W. Belmont Ave., Chicago, IL 60657

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY/STATE/ZIP _____

☐ Please enter a one year subscription to *Soviet-American Review*. Enclosed is my check for \$23.50.

☐ I want to be a sponsor of *Soviet-American Review*. Enclosed is my check for \$75.00.

PALESTINE HUMAN RIGHTS CAMPAIGN NATIONAL CONFERENCE

SEPTEMBER 20-21, 1985 CHICAGO, IL

**"JUST DON'T SAY *
YOU DIDN'T KNOW!"**

Panels:

- Celebration Honoring Former Palestinian Prisoners
- Israel: The Global Context
- Israeli Right-Wing Violence & Palestinian Rights
- "Just Don't Say You Didn't Know!—The Campaign for Palestinian Rights"

Speakers: (partial list):

- Prof. **Israel Shahak**, Chairperson Israeli League for Human & Civil Rights
- Special Invited Guest: **Bassam Shaka'a**, Mayor of Nablus, Occupied West Bank
- Prof. **Benjamin Beit-Hallahmi**, University of Haifa
- **Muhammad Halhaj**, Editor *Palestine Perspectives*
- **Adrien Wing**, Nat'l Conference of Black Lawyers
- **Grace Halsell**, Author *Journey to Jerusalem*
- **Jane Hunter**, Editor *Israeli Foreign Affairs*
- SPECIAL ENTERTAINMENT: **Mustafa al-Kurd**, Palestinian Folk Singer from Jerusalem

*Conference title taken from a 1982 poster (available from PHRC) which was printed by Israeli Committee in Solidarity with Birzeit University

Americana Congress Hotel, 520 S. Michigan, Chicago, IL. For more information write: PHRC Conference, 220 S. State St., #1308, Chicago IL 60604; or call: 312-987-1830

PERSPECTIVES

By Bill Finnegan

WHILE AMERICAN foreign policy seems to slip deeper every week into the somnambulant lockstep of

the most benighted anti-Communism, the strange and lively debate over policy toward South Africa remains an aberration.

Except for some rumblings from the far right in the Senate, the same cowed Congress that recently renewed aid to the Nicaraguan *contras* and repealed the Clark Amendment has shown itself determined to go on record against apartheid without subjecting the issue to the usual Manichaean means test, by which every political shift anywhere in the world must benefit either this country or the Soviets. This fit of sanity won't last forever, but while it does it may contain a great opportunity for the forces fighting for non-racial democracy in South Africa.

A few years ago, I spent a year teaching in a black township outside Cape Town. In that community, the U.S. was widely perceived as the main international ally of "the oppressor"—as the Botha government was popularly known—a perception that has only deepened, I am told, with each passing year of the Reagan administration's "constructive engagement" with Pretoria. I never felt personally blamed for this country's close relationship with the white-minority government. But then I never tried to defend the American role in South Africa against its many township critics; their case was simply too strong.

It's not easy to generalize about the opinions of the black majority on the subject. Obviously, 25 million people are going to hold a variety of views. The fact that they live in a white-ruled police state makes it especially hard to know what black people really think. Last year the South African government gleefully announced the results of a poll, partly funded by the U.S. State Department, that showed a majority of black South Africans opposed to disinvestment. One of the many problems with this poll was that it happens to be illegal in South Africa—indeed, it is a treasonable offense—to advocate disinvestment.

But one fundamental point seems to emerge from the complexities of the disinvestment issue. It is this: if life in South Africa today consists of a vast and escalating confrontation between white masters and black subjects—and it is difficult to imagine any very different interpretation of the situation—then oil refineries and nuclear technology, bank loans and automotive plants, computers and billions of dollars of investment capital, ultimately succor one side in this incipient civil war, and menace the other. This is what few black South Africans have to be told about the American presence in their country: whose side all those multinational corporations will be on when the chips are down.

According to the State Department, the White House and the Central Intelligence Agency, the chips are not down yet. Moreover, the experts say, South Africa's armed forces should prove insuperable for the foreseeable future. (Those thousands of tanks and jets and missiles? They are there to be used not against an invasion but against black South Africans.)

The current "civil unrest"—which has taken more than 600 lives since last September, has seen thousands of people detained without charges and now seems to be spawning Latin American-style death squads—will "blow over," we are told, just as earlier uprisings each have.

By declaring a state of emergency, the apartheid government clearly hopes to repeat history. The last time it took this step, in 1960, the black resistance was decapitated by mass arrests, bannings of



South African President P.W. Botha

Apartheid consensus forms in Congress

organizations and individuals, more repressive laws and executions—and years of relative quiescence followed. But things have changed since 1960. An extensive political underground with an increasingly active guerrilla wing now thrives in black South Africa, beyond the reach of legislative decrees. The resis-

The advent of majority rule is inevitable in South Africa. What is not inevitable is that the U.S. should be both on the wrong side and the losing side.

tance today is specifically organized to survive the detention of its leaders. Banning aboveground organizations like the United Democratic Front, the primary target of the present repression, will only weaken the voices of moderation within the resistance, and swell the underground.

There is evidence that the government's sources of information within the black community have dried up, and nothing to suggest that the CIA's intelligence is any better.

The only thing certain about the future course of the conflict in South Africa is that it will be long and bitter. My own belief is that majority rule is the only hope for peace in southern Africa, and that its advent is inevitable. What is not inevitable is that the U.S. should be on the wrong side—the side of the oppressor and the losing side—in South Africa.

During the crisis of 1960-61, just as the government of Hendrik Verwoerd was staging a massive crackdown on black protest in anticipation of a general strike called by the then-newly-banned African National Congress (ANC), a detachment of U.S. Marines arrived in South Africa, demonstrated flamethrowers and machine guns for the army and buzzed African townships in helicopters. As sociologist Pierre van den Berghe has noted, "Almost all Africans interpreted the American visit as a show of force in favor of Verwoerd."

Again, in 1976, at the height of the Soweto uprising, Secretary of State Henry Kissinger met with South African Prime Minister Balthazar Johannes Vorster, both in Europe and in Pretoria, sending signals of American support that were still vivid in the minds of many of my friends and colleagues several years later in Cape Town.

Given this history, it seems remarkable that leaders like Bishop Desmond Tutu,

Rev. Alan Boesak, Dr. Nthato Motlana, and even Oliver Tambo, president of the ANC—which, after 25 years in exile, remains almost certainly the most popular political party in South Africa, while receiving much of its international support and nearly all of its military aid from the Eastern bloc—continue to make regular pilgrimages to this country, speaking about their cause and against constructive engagement.

They do, though. Liberation struggles need international backing. And while there is a great deal to do, and to undo, before the broad mass of black South Africans will ever see the U.S. as an ally in their freedom struggle—the way many of them already see the Soviet Union—there are key elements in the resistance that have not yet given up on winning real support from this country.

The Reagan administration would no doubt prefer to come to Pretoria's aid, *à la* 1960 and 1976, in the current crisis. So far, it has been prevented from doing so by the intense public and political pressure being generated by the anti-apartheid movement and its multitudinous new converts. With the recent exchange of diplomatic wrist-slaps, there is even the possibility that a certain antagonistic dynamic, fueled by pressures from their respective constituencies, could develop between the two governments, driving them discernibly apart. Obviously, this administration will never do more than pay lip service to the idea of non-racial democracy in South Africa, but so long as the Washington-Pretoria alliance remains strained, the chances become uncommonly good for finally steering the South Africa policy debate in this country around the crucial corner: from anti-apartheid to pro-liberation.

The strangeness of the debate up to now has resided not just in its liveliness and lack of Cold War rhetoric, but in its special American hubris—participants from every political quarter seeming to treat "apartheid" as a problem that *Americans* can somehow "overcome." The truth, of course, is that South Africans must and will liberate South Africa.

But the interventionist mood that is sweeping this country just may, in South Africa's case, be turned, for once, to good account. Everybody's against apartheid, even Newt Gingrich. The time is ripe for a shift from deploring the situation to demanding its remedy: the release from prison of Nelson Mandela and other leaders; the legalization of the ANC; the implementation of one-person, one-vote. If these goals could become half as vivid in the American public's mind as the evils of the present system seem to have become, then pressure on the U.S. government, on this administration and its successors, to provide the kinds of assistance—political, economic, even military—that might help to achieve them, could be greatly increased.

The prospect of American aid would probably horrify most of the black activists I knew around Cape Town (whose politics ranged from Marxist to social-democratic to black nationalist). The prospect of joining the Soviets in support of the liberation struggle in South Africa would undoubtedly horrify the makers of American foreign policy. But South Africa's best hope for gaining a significant degree of self-determination along with the speediest possible transition to majority rule would very likely flow from just such an unlikely East-West alliance. And the chances of a lasting peace for the rest of us might also be improved by some real cooperation between the two superpowers toward ending the agony of southern Africa.

Bill Finnegan has written for *Mother Jones*, the *New Yorker* and the *New York Times*. His book on South Africa will be published by Harper and Row next year.

One Earth, Four or Five Worlds: Reflections on Contemporary History

By Octavio Paz

Harcourt Brace Jovanovich,
187 pp., \$14.95

By Gene H. Bell-Villada

BESIDES BEING MEXICO'S leading essayist and avant-garde poet, Octavio Paz is a free-ranging intellect of a sort now rare in our country. The creator of some astounding experimental verses, he has also composed dozens of books on countless topics, notably *The Labyrinth of Solitude*, a classic meditation on Mexico, now required in courses worldwide; *The Bow and the Lyre*, a superb work of poetic theory; and *Claude Levi-Strauss*, the best available introduction to the French savant.

In a continent where literati can become guerrillas or senators, Paz exemplifies that noted South American tradition: the Writer as Public Figure. Unlike most U.S. poets, so specialized, Paz reads widely in history and politics, and handles metaphors on Marxism with equal flair. But he likewise incarnates the tradition's darker side: the Writer as Priest, even as Dictator.

Every word from Paz carries weight in Mexico; through his prestigious, glossy magazine *Vuelta*, Paz and his select circle wield enormous influence every month. His sway with foundations can either block or promote an upstart author. Whoever dares cross Paz risks marginalization, and when in 1978 the novelist Jorge Aguilar Mora published a dense, erudite book attacking the master, it was met with total silence.

Paz was always drawn to the prophetic, inspired strain in literature (Blake, Surrealism), and his work shows traces of this. But he's too mindful of his role as icon, and long ago he fashioned a style in the lofty oracular.

Now 71, Paz impresses one as never having been brash or young, and he is an exceedingly ambitious patriarch: since the '40s his entire career seems aimed at the Nobel rafters. And so, when (to everyone's surprise) the 1982 award went to his arch-rival García Márquez, Mexico's cultural cliques were abuzz with the news of Paz' wrath and high dudgeon.

Vuelta's back pages did politely acknowledge the Colombian Nobel with a half-inch of column space. Meanwhile, Paz appears to have gone all-out to prove that he is *not* García Márquez—not pro-revolution and certainly *not* leftist. Stockholm must be watching; rumors say that the Nobel men will soon honor a Latino of more "balanced" views.

Goodbye to Marxism.

One Earth, Four or Five Worlds is a collection of Paz' most recent geopolitical speculations from *Vuelta*. Until the early '70s, Paz was a man of the left, and his *Labyrinth of Solitude* was subtly shaped by a non-sectarian '40s Marxism. Here he bids goodbye to all that and, recasting himself as Mexico's Solzhenitsyn, sides squarely with the Western neo-conservative camp. Terrorism, Soviet-Cuban threats, the silliness of Third Worldism, the troubling U.S. decline—these are the issues and the optics now.

The view of Moscow is startling when contrasted with that of a younger Paz, who in *Labyrinth*



ESSAYS

The writer as Dictator

dismissed as shallow the notion of an all-encompassing U.S.-Soviet struggle, and rather singled out anti-colonialism as the key conflict of our times. The born-again Paz chants anti-Soviet refrains as shrill as those of any right-wing *yanqui*.

He cites plenty of Western Kremlinology but ignores the thoughtful, balanced researches of American Sovietologists like George Kennan, Stephen Cohen or Jerry Hough. Paz' Soviet bloc is one in which such shifts as Hungarian market reforms count for little, and "Soviet shock troops" is his idea of Cuba and Vietnam. Russia itself comes off as economic flop, for Paz can't concede that, by most measures, the Soviet population is a great deal better off than the Mexican.

Cuba is relentlessly anathematized, its citizens pronounced poorer today than they were in 1958. Much is made of the emigré Cubans, whereas three million Mexicans on the lam in El Norte (proof of a failure of the Mexican Revolution?) are magically absent from these pages. "Castro" is a curse word readily employed dozens of times; the word "Pinochet" is not once mentioned.

All of this converges into the heady Reaganism of the final essays, where the Sandinistas are all but satanized and certain *contras* much encouraged. "Central America is a battleground for the superpowers." "Russian imperial expansion has arrived in Latin Ameri-

ca." (*sic*) But U.S. world hegemony is seen as bumbling and indecisive, while U.S. investments and soldiers abroad (the world's fourth biggest economy, incidentally) do not exist in the universe according to Paz.

So goes the prevailing drift of this volume, and no doubt it will

be played up by our mainstream journals. Still, Paz remains complex, a man of culture—he is no philistine technocrat *à la* Jeanne Kirkpatrick. Paz can be quite sensible on Israel ("the Palestinians, like the Jews, have the right to a homeland") and straightforward on U.S.-Mexican historical differ-

The Magic Kingdom

By Stanley Elkin

Dutton, 317 pp., \$16.95

By David Moberg

AFTER YEARS OF ELABORATELY publicized searches for a cure, Eddy Bale's son, Liam, finally succumbs to his rare disease. Bale, who helped create the image of a heroic Liam, realizes that such terminally ill children are not quite as saintly as their image. Rather than persecute these children by ineffectually prolonging their pain, he concludes, they deserve some escape or reward. Thus he hatches his plan to take seven gravely diseased children to Disney World, the Magic Kingdom.

Stanley Elkin's tale was inspired by a TV report in England of such an expedition. But Elkin, who has established himself as a writer of supremely deft, bitterly funny and surprising stories and novels (such as *The Franchiser*, *The Living End*, *A Bad Man* and *The Dick Gibson Show*), could not bear to deliver us the tearjerking sentimentality that a TV journalist would seek in this event. Instead,

FICTION

No heroes or villains in Elkin's wonderland

once again, Elkin presents us with a group of well-meaning but ultimately not terribly competent people with their own occasional streaks of cruelty, indifference or corrupting self-interest. For example, the Queen of England, whom Bale approaches as a sponsor for the trip to the Magic Kingdom, is a bit of a hypocritical cheapskate. Bale is as much interested in finding some fame and meaning for his own life as in helping sick kids. Mickey Mouse turns out to be a sadist. And love—for nearly every other writer a magic potion—carries a bittersweet mixture of tenderness and passion with reminders of death and tainted life.

But that makes Elkin sound too much like a curmudgeon. What is particularly triumphant about his work is his ability to make us like and care about people who are obviously deeply flawed, because of their complex, exacerbating hu-

ences. A short chapter actually sees the U.S. as chief obstacle to positive change in Latin America, but the effect is cancelled out by the rest of the book. (*Time* will not be quoting that chapter.)

He is hopeful about China, indulgent toward the "traditionalism" of Khomeini and informative about Shi'ites and Hindus—Paz has a rare knack for summing up remote worlds. The book is splendidly written (and beautifully translated by Helen Lane). Paz is, as always, a virtuoso of the lapidary epigram.

At his worst, however, those strengths become tics; we're ever aware of the Old Sage dispensing

Every word Octavio Paz writes carries weight in Mexico.

wisdom, making platitudes sound deep. The solemnity finally gets tiresome—of all our great writers, Paz rates the lowest in humor. And as Mexico's cultural czar he is filled with himself; among his cited sources one finds many titles by Octavio Paz ("see my book such-and-such").

Paz has fast become the Latino author most regularly invoked by Yankee mediocrats (who have yet to read a line of his verse). Imperial minions will pilfer profundities from this book, this offering to our center-right captains of *Kultur*, and after Paz there is Mario Vargas Llosa, the other neo-conservative high artist now being tapped as the Thinking Man's Thieu or Duarte, "the Voice of Latin America" here in Reaganland. Mediocrats deluding themselves all: South-of-the-border intellectuals remain mostly left wing. But since when have political realities been the true calling of our press lords and their scribes?

Gene H. Bell-Villada teaches Spanish at Williams College and is the author of *Borges and His Fiction: A Guide to His Mind and Art*.

All the World's a Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876-1916

By Robert W. Rydell
University of Chicago Press,
328 pp., \$27.50

By Dave Roediger

YOUNGER ST. LOUISIANS' knowledge of the 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition centers around the handful of built-for-the-fair buildings still extant and around stories concerning how the ice cream cone was invented there. So it always surprised me that when my grandmother-in-law reminisced about the fair she became animated on just one topic: the primitive Igorots. Looking back over 75 years she remembered their huts, dress and dances.

I doubted that much of what she said was accurate. "Igorot" seemed an unlikely name for a people, probably a corruption or a mythical tag attached to those displayed in an exotic sideshow. Only later did I learn that a Filipino tribe really was so named.

When I first read Robert Rydell's *All the World's a Fair*, I dove straight into the index, pursuing Igorots. They appeared in force, especially in the chapter on St. Louis. According to Rydell, the 114 Igorots at the fair there were the most numerous of the "wild tribes" in the Philippines reservation, an ethnological encampment of 1,200 natives of America's not-yet-pacified new colony. Just as the reservation was likely the most popular of the fair's exhibits, the "wild tribes" were the hits of the reservation. To understand the tragic story of the Igorots, it turns out, is to understand much about world's fairs in industrializing America. It is also to penetrate the class, racial and imperial relations to which those fairs gave expression, indeed shape.

The tradition of "displaying" Third World peoples—often alongside Afro-Americans and American Indians—at world's fairs in the U.S. was a longstanding one by 1904. But the Third World villages at the Chicago, Atlanta and Buffalo fairs over the preceding 11 years generally

lacked official stamps of approval. Despite some input from Smithsonian Institution anthropologists, the early villages, shunted to the midways, sometimes verged on being seen as pseudo-scientific sideshows. Exhibits more fully marshalling governmental and scientific authority on the behalf of white supremacy tended to consist of artifacts.

By 1904, the federal government, the St. Louis elite and academic ethnologists cooperated to assure that the Third World villages would grow in both size and prestige. The Philippine reservation virtually bore the presidential seal. Two years before the St. Louis fair, William Howard Taft, then the civil governor of the Philippines, observes that Filipino participation in the festivities would have a "moral effect" and would help in "completing pacification" of the islands. Shortly thereafter, President Teddy Roosevelt declared his agreement with Taft.

Federal approval and academic trappings enhanced the image of the villages while doing little to supplant the pseudo-science and the sideshow atmosphere characteristic of live ethnological exhibits at earlier fairs. The leading scientist advising the 1904 fair, W.J. McGee, preached a racial hierarchy of intellect. He differentiated between "enlightened" and merely "civilized" whites on ethnic terms before discussing "inferior" red, yellow and black people.

McGee repeatedly referred to encouraging Americans to shoulder the "white man's burden" as one of the exhibition's cherished goals. One McGee associate argued that whites possessed superior *hearing* as well as intellect. But the popularity of the Philippine reservation exhibit rested less on spurious claims to scientific authority than on what Rydell calls a "powerful mixture of white supremacist sexual stereotypes and voyeurism" among fairgoers viewing briefly clad villagers.

Ultimately the combination of loincloths and racist science threatened to undercut imperial goals. If Filipinos were so wild as to defy redemption, why build

and a doctor, each with his or her own curses. As the adults pursue their personal ends while attending to the children's needs, the children reveal their own troubled emotions—as confused about their sexuality as about their impending deaths, for example, their frailties and their quest for autonomy, all of which end on a tragic note that is soon brought down to a numbingly prosaic quotidian reality. Despite their time in this magic world—framed on each side by a

Elkin's new novel has the ability to make us like and care about people who are deeply flawed.

quirky snowstorm that falls only on Disney World—there is no redemption. Yet life, even in its most deformed and diseased expressions, goes on.

The writing, however, is elaborate, more than in Elkin's earlier works and at times too much for its own good. (The convoluted but colloquial sentences, each with multiple digressions and afterthoughts, and the accumulations of adjectives occasionally are the literary equivalents of too many rich desserts). But Elkin's own magic stems from his rich language, prickly wit, eye-opening sensibility and provocative description. The reader shares the obvious, sensual pleasure that Elkin derives from putting his words together. There is a rambling, scattered quality to the narration, but the asides are not extraneous. They are everything.

For all its serious themes of mortality and morality, *The Magic Kingdom* is—while possibly not Elkin's best work—another fine example of his welcome humor. For all its recognition of the sordid threads within each person's life, it ultimately makes humanity seem like not such a bad lot after all. ■

HISTORY

Third World on display at first World's fairs



All the World's a Fair

According to Rydell, the Igorots (above) at the 1904 St. Louis fair, were the most numerous of the "wild tribes" in the Philippines reservation, an ethnological encampment of 1,200 natives of America's not-yet-pacified new colony.

huge models to honor U.S. military triumphs in the islands? In a bizarre response to such concerns, Roosevelt, Taft and underlings urgently pressed for shorts and chemises to be issued to the Igorots and to Negritos in order to deemphasize the "savageness" of the villagers.

When appeals to authenticity won out over those to modesty, another solution to the "wildness" problem emerged. Anthropologists stressed that the Philippine population itself was ethnically stratified. The dark Negritos, dubbed the "missing link," would likely "eventually become extinct." Igorots, a step up, were capable of redemption and of a rise to the level of Indians or Afro-Americans. They managed, after all, to sing "My Country 'Tis of Thee" when Roosevelt visited the village.

It was further recalled that Spain had already exerted a civilizing influence in the Philippines and that over half of those on the reservation were not "wild tribesmen" at all but collaborators with the U.S. occupation forces. The latter had presumably made great cultural advances, though the whole argument was muddled somewhat when a mob of gun-firing Marines descended on the collaborators and threatened to lynch them for socializing with white women.

In the wake of the St. Louis fair, many Igorots were given over to the care of unscrupulous sideshow operators who embezzled the wages they held in trust for the

villagers, who were at times kept in the U.S. against their will. Gradually interest at later fairs shifted to the possibilities of imperialism in Latin America, especially with the building of the Panama Canal. Igorots continued to tour, but more unambiguously as a scantily clothed sideshow of "dog-eaters."

The story of the Igorots is as instructive as it is pathetic. It encapsulates most of the arguments in Rydell's challenging book; the

To understand world fairs in the U.S. from 1876-1916 is to penetrate the class, racial and imperial relations to which these fairs gave expression.

intimate connection of fairs to imperial projects and to class rule; and the role of government-connected scientists as the "high priests of industrial capitalism" and expansion. It also discusses the double edge of an American anthropology (and foreign policy) that recognized uplift and extinction as twin prospects for colonial people and the attempt of American elites, who as late as 1876 had shied away from the midway too plebeian and chaotic, to combine bureaucratically sanctioned racism with popular cultural forms.

All the World's a Fair is far from a perfect book. It is better—more ambitious, contentious and adventurous—than any perfect books are likely to be. Despite a failure to consider the popular racial attitudes with which elites interacted in their attempts to shape and foster racism, Rydell has written an important study. It includes a superb chapter on white supremacy, Booker T. Washington and fairs in the New South and tantalizing material on organized labor and the exhibitions.

It demonstrates, in a way increasingly rare in our balkanized historical profession, that class domination, oppression of Indians, anti-black racism and imperial expansion are not isolated phenomena, but the related stuff of which U.S. history from 1876 to 1916 is very largely made. ■

Dave Roediger teaches Southern history at the University of Missouri.

By David Grote

WITH "HAPPY-TALK" formats for news shows, local news changed from a drain on a station's budget to a major profit leader, stretching out for two and three hours at a time, so wildly profitable that most large stations have resisted all attempts by the networks to stretch their evening news casts to an hour, since that would cut into the local news time slots.

Local TV newscasts had traditionally followed the network examples and were dominated by men with the older, serious, even severe demeanor patterned after the great stone faces like Walter Cronkite, Frank Blair or John Cameron Swayze. Patterned at least in part on NBC's *Today*, the new format instead featured "newscasters" who all seemed to

In *My Three Sons*, the long-running sit-com of the '60s, Fred McMurray played a widowed father, going through the problems of raising three sons with the help of a grandfather (and later an uncle). This became the dominant formula for the sit-com. With the added influence of *Bonanza*, which appeared almost simultaneously, it soon became one of the basic formulae of numerous melodrama/dramatic shows, as well.

This formula centers on a father figure who is mature, businesslike, knowledgeable, and in control without being threatening (Fred McMurray and Andy Griffith were ideal manifestations). The number of kids might vary, but the ideal is three—one who is serious and intense, one who is loose and crazy, and one who is somewhere in between, rather effortlessly nice. Tension,

do and still be acceptable to the general audience. Most obvious for many years was the black's automatic assignment to the sports desk. This seems to be breaking down, at least on the two coasts, with the return of some incredibly childish white sports announcers and the gradual understanding that, with women included, stations could combine two minorities into one position.

The father figure is white, with a few widely scattered exceptions. Hence, the number of actual positions open to minorities is severely limited, since at least two of the other positions are popular with audiences but not particularly positive character types. Eccentric curmudgeon uncles and wild, crazy, or just plain weird child-number-threes might be interpreted as continuing old racial and sexual stereotypes (blacks couldn't do much slang for fear of

glum old fellows was that they had a habit of bringing up things that made a lot of people mad, especially since there was always the chance that he might be right. But where could Uncle Eric go? To make him a reporter would be intolerably glum, while his elimination would remove the only personality not devoted to sweetness and light. Suddenly, there appeared, for the first time on TV, the movie/stage/TV reviewer. There Uncle Eric found a home, a place where he could be nasty, uphold old standards and rail against much of the modern world, but where whatever he said could be dismissed as merely entertainment.

Daddy's girls.

This ability of the formula seemingly to give while in fact taking away is more subtle, but consistent, in the new format's treatment

sonalities. Every sit-com family had the same problem; once there were more than two kids, there was always one "in the middle" whom you knew was there but whose name you could never quite remember. It's not that they have no personalities—it's that their personalities are perfect. Much the same things happen with the anchorwomen—they are perfection itself, and therefore, without distinguishing characteristics.

Even more important is her position in the family unit. She is always the child next to her father. She never, but never must look matronly or motherly—no round tummy or streaks of gray for her. Nor can she be the same age or older than the co-anchor, which would suggest that she is at least an older sister or even an independent woman.

She is in fact Daddy's Little Girl. She can do anything the boys can do, and still be beautiful. Not beautiful-sexy, of course, for then she would be a threat to Mommy (who stays safely in the background) and people might start talking about Daddy; and not beautiful-cute, because then she might be surrounded by other men who would take her away from Daddy, but beautiful-perfect: cold enough to keep most other men at a distance, rigid enough that other women will not be threatened by her and so successful that other men can only marvel at her Daddy's wonderful luck and not be threatened by her, either. She knows about sports, but is neither a cheerleader nor a tomboy. She understands world affairs but leaves the jokes to the boys, the profundities to Daddy and the nitty-gritty dirty work to the servants (all those other "reporters" who risk their hairdos daily out on the streets).

The surface image is one of a new independent woman, doing what the men do while wearing her dress-for-success outfit, yet the subtext is that she is far more dependent than in the past, that in fact she only "made it" because she was Papa's Pet. What happens when she merely can do anything the boys can do, but refuses to be Daddy's Little Girl as well? As Christine Craft demonstrated, she looks for another job.

The audience buys this news format. And the most important part of that audience, the "new" audience that propelled happy-talk news teams into the profit-making position they now hold—the same audience that made *My Three Sons* the dominant formula it has been—is other women, not men who were for the most part quite satisfied with the old this-is-serious-business-here-fellas attitude of the news of the '60s. It was the search for female viewers that forced the stations to tinker with the news formats, and it was the success at delivering female as well as male viewers that made this format so dominant in the last decade. It told us, male and female alike, what we wanted to hear.

Thus, the potent message of the contemporary TV news team is not so much that news, too, can be entertaining. Rather, it is that, when we come in contact with the real affairs of the world outside, we all need a Father to trust. Or rather, someone who looks like Father without any of the genuine duties or responsibilities of a father. The parallels with politics in the '80s are too obvious for comment.

David Grote is the author of *The End of Comedy*.



Miles DeCoster

MEDIA

Local TV news shows strike gold with My-Three-Sons format

be auditioning for jobs as TV game show hosts (and at least one succeeded—Pat Sajak, once a Los Angeles TV weatherman, now host of *Wheel of Fortune*, the most popular game show in the country). The newscasts were now all full of people named Trish and Tony and Dick and Pat, none of whom seemed to have last names and all of whom smiled, told jokes and engaged in perpetual chat with all the other newscasters.

But even more important to the new format's success was a new visual formula, a new profusion of faces that delivered an unusual message. Responding to the various political movements of the late '60s and early '70s, stations made an effort to get black faces, then female faces and then, depending on the area of the country, Hispanic or Asian-American faces in front of the camera.

It seemed that an entirely new image of American society was permeating the tube. But it was in fact a very old TV formula. After great pain and effort, and untold millions of dollars in consulting fees, TV news had re-invented *My Three Sons*.

or at least variety, is provided by an "uncle" who is a curmudgeon of some sort, gruff, bossy at times, eccentric in habit or appearance, but with a marshmallow heart.

Now look at the local news. There at the front desk will be Dad, our mature, experienced (but not old) news hand, a touch of gray at the temples, solid, dependable, pleasant, an authority who radiates security, not domination or even knowledge. Beside him will be Sis, an attractive, intelligent and sensible young woman. Just off-camera but ready to appear at any moment will be Junior and Bud, the sports announcer and the weatherman, one of whom will be serious and intense, the other loose and enthusiastic and unpredictable. Rounding out the "team" will be the curmudgeon uncle, originally some kind of editorialist but now often the local arts and entertainment or "life-style" reviewer.

Safe minorities.

Although this formula has allowed minorities to enter the visual mainstream, there are still definite limits to what those minorities can

being accused of shuckin' and jivin', couldn't wear weird clothes for fear of looking like a pimp). Hence, the minority members almost invariably have gone into the slots of the overly serious son or in-between child.

And then there is the curmudgeon uncle of the "arts" desk. In the sit-com formula, it was the uncle's job to be the disciplinarian and to tell the truth without pulling punches, lest we all be buried in marshmallow. But all this discipline and truth-telling was acceptable only because as an uncle he had no real authority. Everyone knew that underneath it all he didn't really mean it, and because he was an uncle his defense of standards and traditions could always be dismissed because it came from an old fogey who just didn't understand the modern world. That is, he could tell the truth, Father could "fix" it, and everyone could ignore it.

For a while, the uncle in the newscast was some kind of editorialist-at-large, as Eric Sevareid had been for CBS for a few years, but this didn't find favor. The problem with these

of women. Women had often read the weather predictions on local TV, usually young, bubbly and cute as a button, carried to a loving extreme in Carol Wayne's satirical weather lady in late-night skits with Johnny Carson. But as soon as the new formula appeared, the weathergirl disappeared, to be replaced by either studious young men in horn-rims or weird middle-aged men in polka-dot ties or funny hats auditioning for the Catskills.

One might think that a cute, vivacious (and maybe even a little bit sexy) weathergirl would be a fixture in entertainment-oriented local news. But she presented two problems in the new format: For various reasons, many feminists had thought the weathergirl to be demeaning. Once women became an official TV minority, they could not longer be cute or silly or funny or sexy for fear that someone might accuse the station of promoting stereotypes. Even if the stations had not been afraid of feminists, there was no room in the sit-com formula, based on a particular, restricted family group, for even the faintest suggestion of sexual attractiveness.

But, because stations are still selling *My Three Sons*, the woman who replaced her is in many ways more demeaning. The anchorwomen always play the role of the perfect child, the one who is not wild, but also not too serious, with the result that, at least on camera, they have no distinguishing per-

MUSIC

British rockers knock Thatcher

"And I'll give my consent to any Government that doesn't deny a man a living wage."

"Between the Wars,"
Billy Bragg, 1985

By Carlton English

IN THE SIX YEARS SINCE SHE assumed power, Margaret Thatcher has unintentionally begun an awareness movement among Britain's leading rock musicians. It is a movement not geared toward the unemployed alone, but for anyone who is concerned enough to listen to the effects of Margaret Thatcher's domestic policy.

Think of all those brave men and woman and children alike /

Who built the unions so others might survive /

In better conditions than abject misery /

Not supporting the miners is to betray that legacy /

Let's change that / Let's fight back. /

"Soul Deep," Paul Weller, 1984

The single "Soul Deep," released last Christmas to support the then-striking miners, was a joint effort on the part of a few of England's leading rock groups, such as the Style Council and Heaven 17—who called themselves the Council Collective—to raise money for the striking miners. They also thought this record should be used to tell the miners' side of the story, which was hard to come by when most of the media had swayed public opinion against them. The record was banned on the BBC and many stores wouldn't even stock it. Even against obstacles, the single still raised \$13,000 and even made it to number 20 on the British charts.

Recently, English musician Billy Bragg, who has had outstanding chart success in England with his lyrically potent LP about the miners strike called "Between the Wars," toured England, sponsored by the Labour Party. Rock musicians and politicians don't usually trust each other, but such a partnership makes sense—especially for the Labour Party, which is eager to capture the votes of the young unemployed. Under the banner "Jobs for Youth" Bragg

criss-crossed England, from Birmingham to Brighton. The concerts were not really different from the usual Billy Bragg concert, except that present at every concert was a Labour MP, which provided audience members access to answers to questions they might have firsthand.

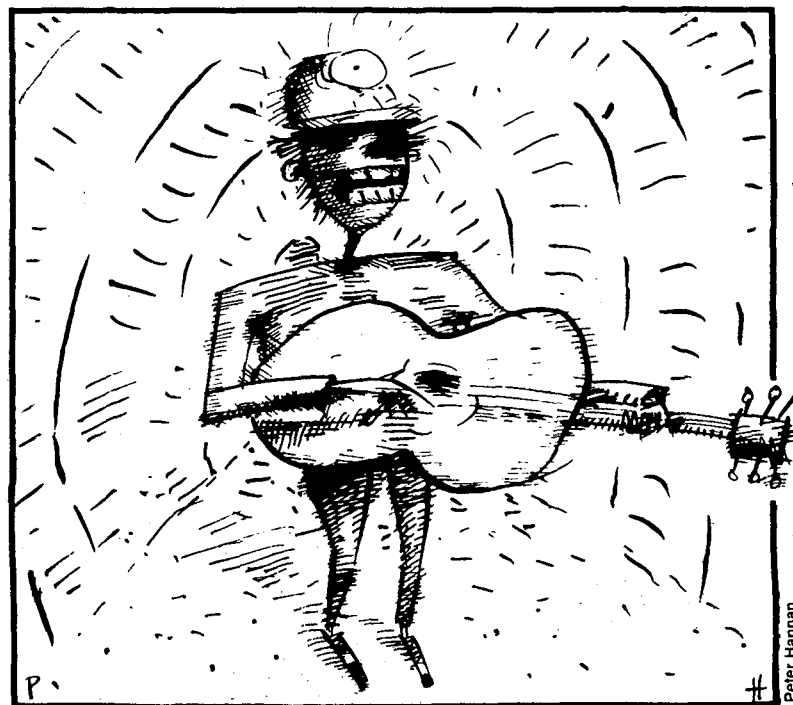
In recent weeks the movement has taken a more active role, with tens of thousands of students along with recording artists joining together to protest the Thatcher government's plan for Youth Training Scheme (YTS) conscription and educational cutbacks. The protests were organized by the School Students Action Committee with support from the Labour Party's Young Socialists, with entertainment and speeches from Paul Weller and Mick Talbot of the Style Council.

YTS is a program of a year's apprenticeship-type vocational training for 16- and 17-year-olds. In theory the idea is great, but in its present form pointless. The training is in already depressed industries, and at 21 pounds for a week's work, the training schemes are nothing more than cheap labor for employers. It is not uncommon to find a person who has completed 10 training schemes without finding a job.

The protest took the form of a half-day strike from school, with demonstrations in more than 60 towns and cities in England, Wales and Northern Ireland. In Liverpool the protest attracted 10,000 demonstrators, in London 5,000, nearly 7,000 in Manchester and 4,000 in Belfast. The controversy started earlier this year when the prime minister announced steps to withdraw supplementary benefits from unemployed youths who, once leaving school, refuse to join the YTS.

The role of pop music is expanding in England today, without sacrificing the sound. American listeners can get a hint of what the excitement's about on Billy Bragg's *Between the Wars* (Go Disco, import) and The Style Council's *The Internationalist* (Geffen).

Carlton English is a Washington, D.C., music critic and DJ.



ADVERTISING

Feminism in ads to bolster sales

By Doug Turetsky

IN A RECENT AMERICAN Express print ad, four co-workers—three women (one black) and a man—are pictured in celebration: Maggie got a raise; Jack lost 10 pounds; and Julie got an American Express card. In another American Express ad, a black woman dressed in a business suit strides confidently from an airplane, briefcase in one hand and stuffed animal clutched in the other. In a third ad, a mother in business suit sits in the stands at a baseball game with her two daughters, all three of them cheering boisterously.

More and more companies are developing advertising campaigns that depict women in positive roles. For the last four years, Women Against Pornography (WAP) has been presenting "Ms. Liberty" awards to advertisers who create pro-woman ads. Among the winners have been a Ford ad that depicts a middle-aged black woman welder on the assembly line and a Kodak ad that shows a woman athlete vaulting over high hurdles. The American Express ads of co-workers celebrating and the business woman with stuffed animal were two of the 1985 winners.

But WAP also presents plastic pigs to advertisers who continue to produce ads that degrade women. One of this year's "winners" was a television ad for Kimberly-Clarke's Huggies. The ad displays little girls in a beauty

pageant, the winner, of course, the one wearing Huggies. The ad was created by Ogilvy & Mather, the same ad agency that created the American Express ads.

"Advertising doesn't set trends, it follows," says Tom Rost, the creative director at Ogilvy & Mather who helped develop the American Express ads. "Whether it's women or anyone else, the smart advertiser is trying to portray people the way they are."

According to statistics from the Department of Labor, the number of women in professional and managerial positions has risen steadily over the past decade, to more than 10 million. These women represent an important demographic group to advertisers, one with a lot of purchasing clout. It's a group that many advertising executives want to tap. So far, none has done it better than Rost. His ads have resulted in American Express' most successful marketing to date.

Boston-based shoemaker Joseph Famolare Jr. learned the hard way about appealing to professional women. His company's ad depicting a woman's legs in a starting block next to a man's hand

holding a gun resulting in a deluge of letters from women angered by the sexist imagery. Famolare quickly canned the ad. "I would say 80 percent of our market is working women, students, nurses and teachers," Famolare told the *New York Times*. "We found out they went for sexy shoes, not sexy ads."

The use of feminism as a basis for advertising is not new. In the 1920s, feminist demands for freedom and equality were channeled into the jargon of advertising. Advertisers depicted the liberated woman as one who smoked—helping to break the smoking taboo among women and tap a massive market as well. Toasters and vacuum cleaners were also presented as goods that could help "free" women. This commercialized feminism thrived upon the linking of consumerism with women's rights. When feminism faded from the forefront of concerns during the Depression, advertisers quickly shed such jargon.

Today's commercialized feminism, like its '20s predecessor, is created primarily by men, and sometimes it shows. A Hanes Hosiery Company television ad, which "won" a plastic pig from WAP in 1984, illustrates how this sort of advertising can go awry. In the ad, a professional woman is portrayed as finally having won access to an exclusive club. She appears successful, confident and independent—the very qualities the male club-members respect in each other. But none of them talk to her—they just gaze at her legs.

As long as commercialized feminism helps sell products and services to a targeted market group, we'll get more of it. But if sales slide, the image will be cut in favor of whatever else spurs the marketplace. After all, advertising agencies are in business to promote merchandise, not equality. ■ Doug Turetsky is editor of *Brooklyn Affairs*, an arts and culture monthly.

To advertisers, working women have buying power.

Waste

Continued from page 5

site. Dr. Len Zane, associate professor of physics at the University of Nevada in Las Vegas, is concerned about the trucks that would criss-cross his state at the rate of 30 a day for 20 years. Trucks now moving over the nation's highways carrying nuclear materials, such as bomb components, are not marked as containing radioactive cargo. Zane worries about the effects of leaking radiation on the passengers of cars that unknowingly follow these "common carriers" down the freeway or, even worse, become involved in an accident with just such an unmarked vehicle.

Earthquakes in Nevada.

Over the years buildings in Las Vegas and neighboring towns have suffered millions of dollars in damages due to shock waves from underground bomb tests in the desert more than 100 miles away. This July 25 a nuclear warhead with a maximum yield of 150-thousand tons of TNT was detonated below Pahute Mesa. The test blast, code-named "Serena," registered 5.4 on the Richter scale.

Yucca Mountain is less than 25 miles from the northern end of the test site where such tests are currently being held. According to Bob Loux, executive director of the state's Nuclear Waste Project Office, it is likely the DOE will use the western land bordering Yucca Mountain for its detonations as the northern part of the test site becomes decimated and contaminated. Nevertheless, the DOE continues to give its unreserved assurances that the proximity of the Nevada Test Site will cause no problem for the waste repository.

But Bob Fulkerson of Citizen Alert, an organization in Nevada that opposes the proposed waste dump, has great difficulty suspending his disbelief regarding the DOE's claims. "It doesn't make a hell of a lot of sense," he says, "to put a nuclear

waste repository in a place where you know with absolute certainty that earthquakes will occur on a regular basis. Those earthquakes may be man-made, but they're still earthquakes."

Occasionally the ground has split open as the result of a detonation and the beginnings of a mushroom cloud has formed on the surface. Last year one person was killed and 13 others injured on the test site when several DOE trailers with testing equipment were swallowed up into a cavernous opening that suddenly appeared in Ranier Mesa after a detonation. Yucca Mountain and Ranier Mesa are both made of the same type of rock, volcanic tuff.

Volcanic tuff is a substance known for its fractures and fissures, and many are concerned that radioactive material could find its way into the water reserves 50 feet below the area where the waste will be buried in Yucca Mountain. The underlying ground water table is used for irrigation, and beneath it is a carbonate aquifer that the state hopes to turn into a source of domestic water to accommodate future development in southern Nevada.

John Bell of the Nevada Bureau of Mines and Geology suggests that since major climatic changes within the next 10,000 years are expected to bring greater population to the region, the water table could eventually rise and flood the waste disposal area. One way or another, if the water were to become contaminated it would jeopardize future life in the Nevada desert.

Bell, who has done the most extensive geological work on Yucca Mountain, is convinced that there will be a major earthquake there within the life of the proposed nuclear waste repository. The mountain contains several fault lines and the U.S. Geological Survey lists the site as being in an active seismic zone. The geologist is not against the possibility of a waste dump in Nevada, but he feels the DOE has so far made weak analyses based on inadequate data. "Some of their conclusions are not backed up by a very substantial data base," he says. "There are scattered fragments of

evidence that they have hung very delicate conclusions on, and much of the evidence is contradictory."

People concerned about nuclear waste met recently in Washoe, Nev., to coordinate efforts against the DOE's current site selection procedures. They issued a lengthy, in-depth statement describing its process as "based on political expediency...rather than sound technical, socioeconomic and environmental considerations." They urged the federal government to drop the present list of proposed sites and begin the selection process once again, this time welcoming the participation of state governments and interested citizens.

The conference, organized by Citizen Alert, called for state governments to work together in opposing the DOE's present plans. Nevada and several other states have jointly brought two lawsuits against the DOE. One challenges the criteria and process the DOE uses for choosing a site, the other requests the funding and authority for states to do their own independent technical research. Thus far states have been forbidden from doing primary data-gathering, including such basic measures as collecting rocks for analysis or testing water.

Several states have already taken staunch positions against the waste dump being placed within their borders. Mississippi advocates a 10-point plan calling for the DOE to step aside as manager of the waste repository program, and Texas refuses to give the DOE a drilling permit to continue its study of Deaf Smith and Swisher Counties. (The proposed site on the Texas panhandle is above Ogallala Aquifer, the largest aquifer in the world and source of one-third of the nation's agricultural water supply.)

Although Nevada's Sen. Paul Laxalt is sitting on the fence, Gov. Bryan has written a letter to the secretary of energy asserting that Yucca Mountain would not be in the running if the DOE had seriously considered its geology.

The nuclear waste organizers at the conference also warned of the dangers of

co-mingling military waste from the manufacture of nuclear weapons with waste from commercial reactors. One concern is that the specter of national security would be raised to deny public access to information on the shipment and disposal of the wastes. Another related issue is the possibility that radioactive material stored in the repository may one day be reprocessed into weapons-grade nuclear material. The conferees are quick to point out that if commercial waste were reprocessed for use in weaponry the U.S. would be violating the international Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty.

Regardless of international ramifications and many practical obstacles, the idea of reprocessing the highly contaminated waste that might eventually be stored in the stomach of Yucca Mountain is already being championed by physics professor James Kliwer of the University of Nevada at Reno. Kliwer maintains that reprocessing could be the biggest boon to the west since the discovery of gold and silver. Nevada could easily market its finished products to the highest bidders abroad. Thousands of sorely needed new jobs would be created virtually overnight, and the state would be eternally in the black.

But many in Nevada, such as Bob Fulkerson of Citizen Alert and Fran Polk, a staff member of the Franciscan Center for Peace and Justice, consider Kliwer's proposition to be just another misleading ploy by pro-nuclear advocates attempting to suppress local opposition and downplay well-founded fears that the federal government is perpetrating yet another cover-up for the sake of military objectives.

Benny Levy of Nevada Test Site Radiation Victims is outraged that a set of radiation risk tables drawn up recently by the Department of Health and Human Services at the request of Sen. Orrin Hatch (R-UT), are skewed to underestimate the relationship of cancer to radioactivity. The tables are to be used as a criteria for compensating radiation victims, including people living downwind of the Nevada Test Site, uranium miners, workers in the nuclear industry, as well as those who would live by and work in the proposed national nuclear waste repository. The Health and Energy Institute in Washington, D.C., concludes that the newly released tables are "a continuation of the federal policy of downplaying radiation hazards to protect federal nuclear activities."

Dennis Bernstein and Connie Blitt have written for *Newsday* and the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, among other publications.



We're dishing out the scoops...for free!

Now you can give two gift subscriptions for the price of one!

Serve your friends, family and colleagues a taste of something special this summer. Give one six-month gift subscription at our regular low rate of just \$15.95 and give another six-month gift scoop for FREE. Now you can give two gift subscriptions for the price of one!

Whether it's a birthday, wedding or graduation present, IN THESE TIMES makes a delicious gift idea. We've got 22 flavorful issues coming up, with our weekly Arts & Entertainment section scooping the latest music and film releases and the In Print section reviewing the current summer reading choices. We'll be dishing out centerspread and back page features along with our ongoing coverage of national and international events. Add Nicole Hollander's nutty Sylvia cartoon strip and you've topped off the perfect gift. Give your friends and family the news they can't find anywhere else, and the analysis that you've come to rely upon from IN THESE TIMES

It's easy. For only \$15.95, you'll be giving two big scoops. Simply complete the order form below, and then sit back and enjoy the summer. We'll send out the gift cards announcing your gifts, and if you prefer, we'll even bill you later.

MY NAME _____
ADDRESS _____
CITY, STATE, ZIP _____ HA05

Send my first \$15.95 gift to:

NAME _____
ADDRESS _____
CITY, STATE, ZIP _____ HA06

Send my FREE gift scoop to:

NAME _____
ADDRESS _____
CITY, STATE, ZIP _____ HA06

Sign the gift cards from _____

- ☐ My payment is enclosed.
☐ Please bill me later.

For faster service call our toll-free number: 1-800-247-2160.
Iowa residents: 1-800-362-2860.

Each gift subscription must be addressed to a different individual and must be a new order. The above rates are for U.S. residents only—foreign orders are \$17.50 for each subscription. Offer expires September 30, 1985

CALENDAR

Use the calendar to announce conferences, lectures, films, events, etc. The cost is \$20.00 for one insertion, \$30.00 for two insertions and \$15.00 for each additional insert, for copy of 50 words or less (additional words are 50¢ each). Payment must accompany your announcement, and should be sent to the attention of ITT Calendar.

GROTON, CT

September 14

Protest the launching of the 8th Trident submarine—U.S.S. Nevada, Saturday, Sept. 14. Gather 9 a.m. at Fort Griswold State Park and march to Electric Boat shipyard. Sponsored by the Coalition to Stop, Box 1093, Norwich, CT 06360.

BEQUESTS

In These Times appreciates the bequests received from readers and supporters. These legacies (ranging from \$500 upward) have been a help to the paper's solvency and show a commitment for continuing *In These Times'* role of providing a left perspective on the news of today.

The following language is suggested for making a bequest: "I give to the Institute for Public Affairs, a California not-for-profit corporation, the sum of \$_____ to be used for the benefit of *In These Times*, whose address is 1300 West Belmont Ave., Chicago, IL 60657.

For more information please contact: Felicity Bensch, Assistant Publisher, *In These Times*, 1300 West Belmont, Chicago, IL 60657. Phone (312) 472-5700.

South Africa

Continued from page 9

"would have to be as public as our talks with the [Scandinavian] governments of northern Europe" that currently give the group millions of dollars annually in non-military assistance.

Makatini also reiterated a point made earlier this year by other top ANC leaders during interviews with *In These Times* at the group's headquarters in Zambia: "What the regime is offering us now is all that the ANC was asking for during the 'Defiance Campaign' of the '50s. The ANC was reformist then. Are they waiting for the younger generation that views us as Uncle Toms? Even the Communist Party members of the ANC are conservative compared to the youth fighting with us outside and inside South Africa."

A final precondition to talks, according to Makatini, is the immediate dismantling of the bantustan system that remains the most distasteful and harmful symbol of apartheid. But despite 11 months of unrest and mounting pressure for sanctions abroad, Pretoria has actually accelerated its master plan to locate new industry in white areas bordering the 10 so-called tribal homelands.

Dividing blacks by ethnic background and restricting them as much as possible to their separate homelands is central to the apartheid concept of "separate development." The homelands—four of which have been given a dubious independence recognized by no other government except South Africa—occupy 13 percent of the land but hold 50 percent of the country's blacks gerrymandered onto scattered, jigsaw-shaped pieces of the least fertile and least minerally endowed land in the nation.

"Botha is prepared to allocate a tremendous share of South Africa's investment capital to promote the homelands policy," said Andrew Savage, a parliament member who belongs to the white opposition Progressive Federal Party. This year's "increase of 250 percent in the budget for industrial decentralization shows a complete ideological

commitment to the policy of independent black homelands," Savage said on July 22 in Port Elizabeth, the first day of the emergency.

Ten days later, while blacks burned and looted Indian townships positioned as a buffer zone between Durban's blacks and whites, State President P.W. Botha traveled to the tiny homeland of KwaNdebele to announce wage and construction cost subsidies for white businesses willing to locate jobs for blacks near the homeland, away from white population areas. Some 22 factories are already being built along the border of what Botha described as "this wonderful young country."

Pretoria would undoubtedly prefer to negotiate a "power-sharing" arrangement with the blacks it has set up to administer the black townships and homelands. Although the ANC's campaign to make the townships "ungovernable" has removed the township councils as possible bargaining agents, moderate homeland leaders like the powerful Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Gatsha Buthelezi, appear willing to accept a federal system that could let blacks have a dominant voice in multiracial regional governments while whites remain in effective control of the economy and the military.

It seems unlikely that whites will willingly accept a federal solution more "radical" than the constitutional framework proposed this year by the Associated South African Chambers of Commerce. ASSO-COM's plan would give voluntarily constituted groups more local autonomy, protect the current maldistribution of wealth and wrap the whole deal in rhetoric reminiscent of the American Constitution. Blacks dismiss the idea as a sophisticated way to erase apartheid from the statute books yet still maintain their control and access to cheap labor.

The riots of recent weeks in the previously quiet townships outside Durban indicate that even in KwaZulu, where Chief Buthelezi's patronage army and police work with white security to enforce a calm by brutalizing elements sympathetic to the ANC's brand of liberation, rising black anger and expectations may be mov-

ing beyond the reach of any compromise that does not satisfy credible, national black leaders like Mandela.

Michael Calabrese is an attorney and journalist who in late July finished working on human rights cases for the Center for Applied Legal Studies in Johannesburg.

Spalding

Continued from page 24

His experience at Lawrence, Mass., where decaying textile mills testify to a tradition of militant labor organizing, gets woven into his performance of *Travels in New England*. He arrived there to perform his interviews with the audience, but discovered he was to be the capper in an evening of folk festival events, typified by the older gentleman who danced in Greek costume to the theme from *Zorba the Greek*. No amount of chat could get people to talk about the history of Lawrence. The mill owner greeted the "traveling talk show host" afterward with, "A noble effort, but I prefer Barbara Walters."

Gray's voyage to the "pleasure prison" of the Thailand set for *The Killing Fields* synthesized his idiosyncratic exploration of American sensibility into *Swimming to Cambodia*. It begins with an outrageous tale of decadence on the beach the night before a big shoot, contrasting Western ideas of fun with Thai notions of pleasure: "They don't feel they have to be punished for it."

Gray backtracks to recall how he got the part (some savage slams on Hollywood there), then segues into a brief sketch of Cambodian history, with map and pointer. Among other things, this mini-lesson reminds us that U.S. bombing killed one-quarter—that's 25 percent—of "the enemy." An encounter with a whacked-out Navy officer in a train provides background on American defense strategies, then he returns to the making of the movie.

Gray has an epiphany that what the world needs, to avoid war, is more war movies—"WAR THERAPY!" he says. Then it's the day after. "And just before going to sleep," he says, "I had a flash of what it was that

IN THESE TIMES AUG. 21-SEPT. 3, 1985 23 killed Marilyn Monroe."

By that time, you've had a chance to knit together the mix of fantasy and reality, that roils behind headlines, to own an awareness of a piece of history that belongs to you whether you like it or not. There is no message, but a texture of understanding.

Pornographic privacy.

Each night is a slightly different version, based on a simple outline, or even a set of gimmicks to trigger associations. Gray is after an intense interaction with the audience, hoping to carve out some ground in which art can interact with life. He's willing to write it down—there's a book in the works at Random House—but the life of the material is in the living moment of making it.

He thinks it works, when it works, because audiences share his craving to tell, and so to be seen. "Humankind is a verbal animal," he insists. "In Boston during *Interviews with the Audience*, a woman said to me, 'Well, I don't have much to tell. I'm a night clerk at the Holiday Inn.' She didn't know she had any good stories, because she had no one to tell them to. But when she came up she realized she did. Telling heightens reality."

Watching people being interviewed by Gray can be as unnerving as being confronted by his stories. To hear them describe their lives, unaware of what leaks in between the words, can be like watching someone undress when they think they're alone. That's what Gray's after in his rebellion against what he calls a "puritanical culture with its pornographic privacy."

But it's a rebellion peculiarly appropriate to a privatized culture. A performing style that is intensely personal, subjective and anti-institutional to the point of challenging the basic conventions of theater.

"I am filling in immediate history," he says. "Making connections and passing them on. I'm saying out loud, these people live, these names are being spoken, we have a life bigger than our own."

Gray's is theater for a society where, as Laurie Anderson says, there are a million stories in the naked city and no one can tell which one is theirs.

CLASSIFIED

HELP WANTED

ALTERNATIVE JOB/INTERNSHIP opportunities! The environment, women's rights, disarmament, media, health, community organizing, and more. Current nationwide listings—\$3. *Community Jobs*, Box 429, 1520 16th St., NW, Washington, DC 20036.

PROGRAM COORDINATOR: National coalition of 55 religious, peace, and social action organizations seeks human rights program coordinator to organize and facilitate national grassroots and Capitol Hill strategies on human rights issues with special emphasis on U.S.-Central America policy. Experience in local organizing essential. Congressional work desirable. Send resume, cover letter, and writing sample to: Cynthia Washington, Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy, 612 G Street, SE, Washington, DC 20003. EOE. No phone calls. Deadline 9/27.

WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL League for Peace and Freedom is seeking a Program and Action Director for creatively developing and implementing national program to assist local and national organizing. Experience in national peace activity; commitment to work for social change; excellent speaking and writing skills; knowledge of current issues and willingness to do some traveling. Salary: \$13,500 with paid

vacations and health benefits. Send resume, writing sample and references to: WILPF National Office, 1213 Race St., Philadelphia, PA 19107-1619, Attention: Pam Jones-Burnley.

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS. Apply for 1986 summer legal interns. Contact NLG Summer Projects, 1205 Smith Tower, Seattle, WA 98104.

LARGE AFL-CIO union looking for organizers and lead organizers. Experience necessary. All replies confidential. Send resumes along with salary history to: Organizer Positions, P.O. Box 27280, Washington, DC 20038-7280.

CENTER FOR THIRD WORLD Organizing offers training for minority organizers. Stipends available. Contact CTWO by Sept. 1: (415) 654-9601; 3861 Martin Luther King Way, Oakland, CA 94609.

PUBLICATIONS

GAY COMMUNITY NEWS—"The gay movement's newspaper of re-

STUDY SPANISH IN NICARAGUA

4 hours of classes daily. Meetings with political leaders. Family living and community work. Apply now for August, September and October sessions. Call (212) 777-1197 or write to Casa Nicaraguense de Español, 70 Greenwich Ave., Rm. 559, New York, NY 10011

PROOF JESUS FICTIONAL!

SCHOLARLY BOOKLET conclusively proves Roman Calpurnius Piso (pen-name Flavius Josephus) & his family created fictional Jesus, authored New Testament. Send \$4.00 to Vector, Box 6215-J, Bellevue, WA 98008.

cord." Each week GCN brings you current, informative news and analysis of lesbian and gay liberation. Feminist, non-profit. AND there's a monthly Book Review Supplement. Now in our 12th year. \$29.00 for the year (50 issues). \$17.00 for 25 weeks. Send check to GCN Subscriptions, Suite 509, 167 Tremont St., Boston, MA 02111.

VOLUNTEERS

VOLUNTEER NEEDED for *In These Times* advertising campaign. Must be detail minded, responsible—and wanna work (10 hours and up to 25 hours) each week. Assist in production of 1985 anniversary issue; lots

of follow-up with advertisers and supporters. Possibly work into a paid position. Interested? Contact advertising department, ITT, (312) 472-5700.

WORKSHOPS/VACATIONS

BERKSHIRE FORUM: Weekend Vacation workshops, run through Dec. 1. Provocative speakers, good companions, lovely mountain scenery, excellent meals, comfortable accommodations. Write or call: Berkshire Forum, Box 124, Stephentown, NY 12168, (518) 733-5497.

PERSONALS

MEET OTHER LEFT SINGLES through Concerned Singles News-

letter. All areas. Free sample. P.O. Box 7737-T, Berkeley, CA 94707.

ATTENTION

MOVING? Let *In These Times* be the first to know. Send us a current label from your newspaper along with your new address. Please allow 4-6 weeks to process the change. Send to: *In These Times*, Circulation Dept., 1300 W. Belmont, Chicago, IL 60657.

HOMES

GOVERNMENT HOMES from \$1. (U Repair). Also delinquent tax property. Call 1-805-687-6000 Ext. GH-2440 for information.

In These Times Classified Ads Grab Attention



and work like your own sales force. Your message will reach 96,000 responsive readers each week (72% made a mail order purchase last year) ITT classes deliver a big response for a little cost

Word Rates:

80¢ per word / 1 or 2 issues
70¢ per word / 3-5 issues
65¢ per word / 6-9 issues
60¢ per word / 10-19 issues
50¢ per word / 20 or more issues

Display Inch Rates:

\$22 per inch / 1 or 2 issues
\$20 per inch / 3-5 issues
\$18 per inch / 6-9 issues
\$16 per inch / 10-19 issues
\$13 per inch / 20 or more issues

All classified advertising must be prepaid. Advertising deadline is Wednesday 14 days before the date of publication. All issues dated on Wednesday.

Enclosed is my check for \$_____ for \$_____ week(s). Please indicate desired heading.

Advertiser _____

Address _____ City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Send to: **IN THESE TIMES, Classified Ads, 1300 W. Belmont, Chicago, IL 60657**

This publication is available in microform from University Microfilms International.

Call toll-free 800-521-3044. In Michigan, Alaska and Hawaii call collect 313-761-4700. Or mail inquiry to: University Microfilms International, 300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106.

By Pat Aufderheide

AFTER YEARS OF REKNOWN ON the New York avant-garde theater circuit, Spalding Gray is gaining national notice. This summer he is presenting several of his performances to audiences in cities across the nation, picking up new material along with rave reviews.

Gray tells stories. Not fables, not moral tales, not heroic sagas. Just stories: a hitchhike last week; when my dog died; a girl I knew who I didn't sleep with.

It all happens on a bare stage, where Gray sits at a table with a glass of water. The ritual has a disturbing edge, because through trial and error, Gray has put his finger on the weak spot in performance in this culture—a shortage of ritual public space, both physical and mental. Every performance is an intimate act, somewhere between soul-baring and after-dinner conversation. And people respond to it thirstily. They pay for the privilege of hearing honest talk, somewhere above banality but considerably below philosophy. Just stories.

Some nights they are about his childhood, as in *Sex and Death to the Age 14*. These are the tales of pre-adolescent consciousness Gray says made him a "WASP Woody Allen." Sometimes it's the adventures he went through as a cast member of *The Killing Fields*. ("I know nothing about politics. I've never voted in my life," he told director Roland Joffe. "Perfect," Joffe said. "You're supposed to play the role of the American ambassador's aide.") And sometimes it's a two-way conversation, when in *Interviewing the Audience* Gray asks volunteers random questions that trigger, sometimes unbeknownst to the volunteers, stories buried in ordinary encounters.

The episodes can be interesting and the observations as acute as those of your more perceptive friends. Yet that's not what hooks you. What does it that Gray is working so hard to communicate *something* to you, without pretense and with care.

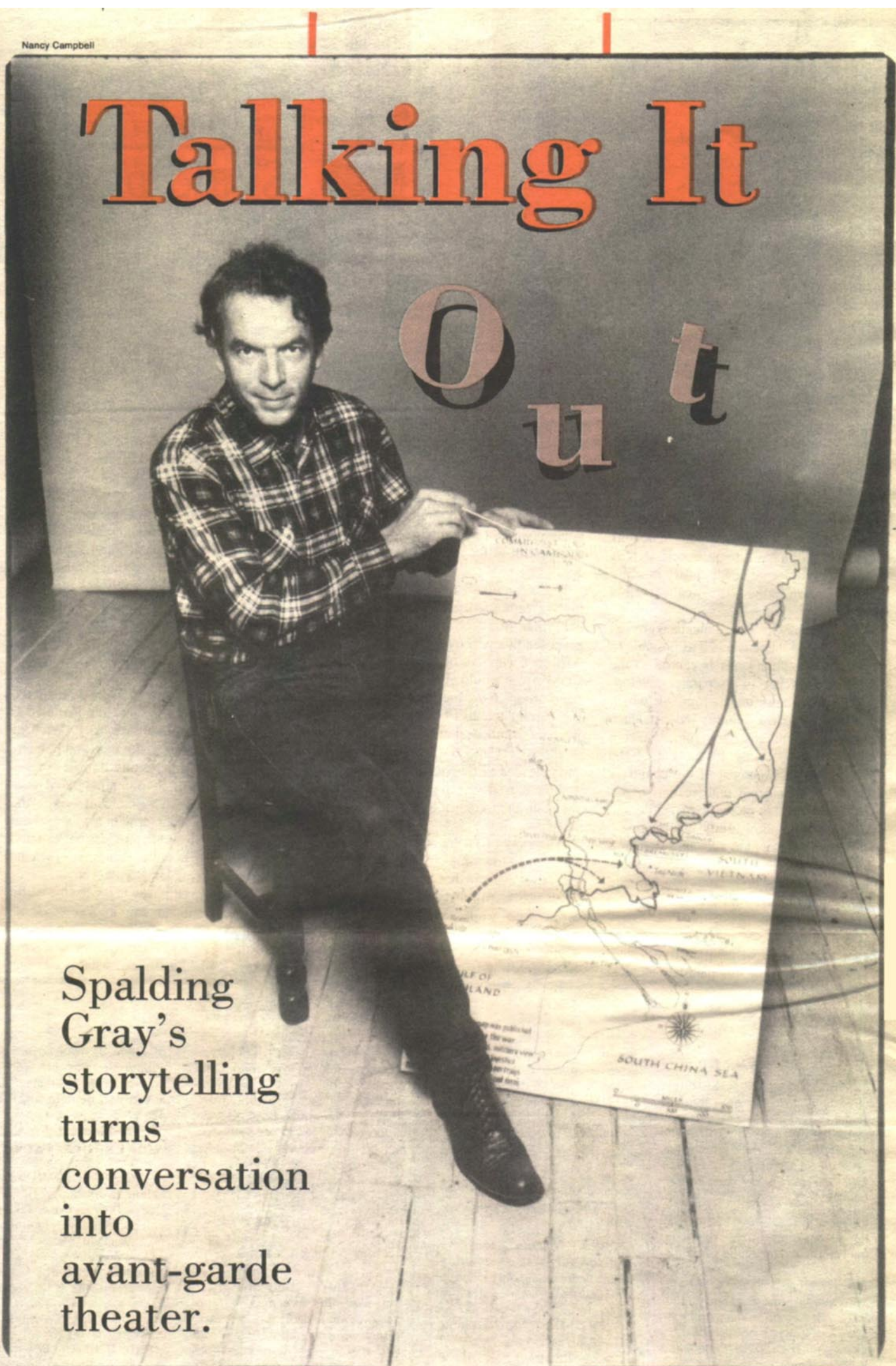
The effort sharply contrasts the manufactured conversation filling mass media in the infotainment era. When Gray delivered his performances in New England last year he was often billed as a "talk show host." That is precisely the model that his homegrown artform challenges. That's why long-time critical admirer James Leverett in *American Theater* calls Gray's work "epic monologue."

Not another talk show.

"There's a false intimacy afoot, isn't there?" Gray said to *In These Times* during his Washington, D.C., performances at the New Playwrights Theater. "False intimacy" is the kind of phrase Gray is good at coining, and he's right. On talk shows, people sit in pseudo-domesticity having conversations designed to be overheard but not engaged. Whether they're discussing their plastic surgery or the defense budget, the bottom line is their own opinion, not public decision-making or the context in which anything happened. No wonder that in this sea of perpetual chat it's hard to decide what should be a matter of public display or debate, much less who should be talking when.

Gray's monologues and conversations are not a direct response—much less an attack—on this situation. They are an attempt to participate in it on his own terms. (Gray was interviewed once for a guest spot on the "Tonight" show. Staffers, initially charmed, became worried as he talked. They kept trying to get him to lighten up, and also to keep him on subjects that wouldn't jar audiences out of their daze. He didn't pass the test.)

Born 44 years ago into comfortable circumstances in a Rhode Island town, Gray early on took a sideline seat in consumer culture. "I was bored by life, actually," he told the *Boston Globe*. "I know I shouldn't have been." After a childhood trauma, he simply refused to talk. At school, it was all cherry bombs and rotten eggs until he was packed off to a private school. Then set loose in New York, he discovered street life, drugs, nomadism and, eventually, in



Spalding
Gray's
storytelling
turns
conversation
into
avant-garde
theater.

avant-garde theater, a working community in The Wooster Group.

That began his long journey out of himself, one he is documenting year by year on stage. In 1970 he began experimenting with monologues for the Group, focused obsessively on his personal life. Even today, he thinks his work bears traces of Wooster influence.

"Their work always refers back to itself, to the theater," Gray says. The Wooster Group takes from the world, but then they bring it back—they eat it. The flavor is still there in my work. It's subtle—in the fact that it's made in a room and is in some way the history of that room and of my relation with the audience."

"But I finally broke away," he continues. "I was curious about all sorts of people and situations. I was so ravenously greedy when I cut loose. I took buses across the U.S., got arrested and was put in jail. I wasn't even unhappy in the Las Vegas jail, I was

so interested."

If this sounds like the innocent abroad in America, that's very much how Gray represents himself, both in person and on stage. As participant-observer in the great American tradition of perpetual innocence, he's a guide to the network of custom and attitude we take for granted.

Zingers and patterns.

On stage, he's skilled at appearing casual, yet he grabs you with such zingers as this description of a yupped-out community: "It is raining white wine and broccoli quiche." And he approaches a free-associational landscape of tiny tales with the confidence that his life is as engrossing to you as it is to him. And usually he is right.

There are colors, passion, intent in the heterogenous incidents he describes: confrontations with loud neighbors in a New York apartment, a trip to a Thai whorehouse, an attempt to find Wallace

Stevens' home in a community that seems to have forgotten him. They add up into patterns.

"I personally see culture as a piece of art, a man-and-woman-made design imposed over cosmic, meaningless nature," he says. "Wherever you look, you will see signs and stories. Some people call that paranoia. But the difference between paranoia and art is when you see that the signs are synchronous with the culture. I'm interested in the theater of culture, the way people behave and speak, all the little things I see where I'm working."

Through all these moments-turned-performances run concern about the loss of historical awareness, of a sense of community, of dreams that sustain more than an individual. And each of them is a small effort at recreating shared meaning, at making the simplest of human connections through talk.

Continued on page 23